

# TIME



SPECIAL  
ISSUE  
EDITED  
BY AVA  
DUVERNAY

## THE ART OF OPTIMISM

34 PEOPLE  
CHANGING  
HOW WE SEE  
OUR WORLD

Original portrait by  
South African painter  
Nelson Makamo, 36





4 | From the Editor  
7 | Conversation  
8 | For the Record

## The Brief

News from the U.S.  
and around the world

9 | The drug war  
after **El Chapo**

12 | The **Virginia**  
governor and the  
new bar for political  
scandal

14 | The first  
statehouse with a  
female majority

18 | TIME with ...  
TV chef-turned-  
cancer crusader  
**Sandra Lee**

20 | The New  
England Patriots  
extend their reign

## The View

Ideas, opinion,  
innovations

23 | Nancy Gibbs on  
the **2020 campaign**  
and our waning  
attention span

25 | Ian Bremmer  
on the danger of  
the U.S. leaving  
a Cold War  
arms treaty

25 | Where **Black**  
**History Month**  
tributes fall short

26 | Ralph Nader  
on Howard Schultz  
and **third-party**  
candidates

28 | Small countries  
make big pledges  
to slow **climate**  
change

## Features

### Walled Off

Down in the polls and facing an  
empowered opposition, President  
Donald Trump is at a defining  
moment *By Brian Bennett* 34

### Venezuela's Opening

A young leader offers a way out of the  
country's catastrophe  
*By Ciara Nugent* 42

### China's Time Bomb

The nation's biggest economic crisis  
may be its aging population  
*By Charlie Campbell* 48

### To the Rescue

With doctors scarce in Nigeria,  
midwives are saving thousands  
*By Aryn Baker* 54

### The Optimists

Guest editor Ava DuVernay finds the  
greatest hope in art, including these  
34 visionaries 60

## Time Off

What to watch, read,  
see and do

99 | Man Booker  
Prize winner  
**Marlon James** kicks  
off a fantasy trilogy

104 | Movies:  
*Isn't It Romantic*;  
*The Lego Movie 2*;  
*Cold Pursuit*

106 | Daniel  
Radcliffe stars in  
the new TV comedy  
*Miracle Workers*

110 | Eat smart:  
benefits of **fiber-**  
**rich diets**; the  
unhealthiest  
**fried foods**

112 | 8 Questions  
for author **Angie**  
**Thomas**

^  
**Venezuelan**  
opposition leader  
and head of  
parliament **Juan**  
**Guaidó** is greeted  
by supporters as  
he leaves an anti-  
government rally in  
Caracas on Feb. 2

Photograph  
by **Adriana**  
**Loureiro**—Reuters

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues by TIME USA, LLC. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** Send address corrections to Time Magazine, PO BOX 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement # 40069223. BN# 888381621RT0001. © 2019 TIME USA, LLC. All rights reserved. Printed in the U.S.A. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, please use our website: [www.time.com/myaccount](http://www.time.com/myaccount). You can also call 1-800-843-8463 or write Time Magazine PO Box 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is strictly prohibited. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. ◆◆◆◆◆



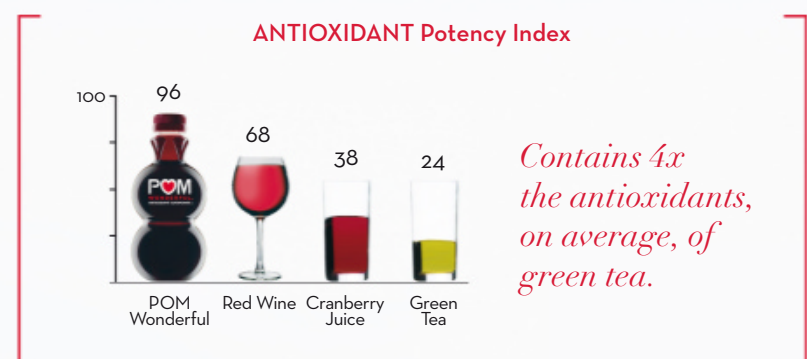
ADVERTISEMENT

# Age *to* perfection. At any age.

**WHY AGE GRACEFULLY, WHEN YOU CAN AGE SUCCESSFULLY?** Our bodies can be younger or older than our actual age depending upon diet, lifestyle choices and physical activity. This is called biological age, which could be different than the age on your driver's license, which is called chronological age. A recent study of over 900 adults who were tracked for 12 years, from ages 26-38, showed that people who were aging faster, meaning that their biological age was higher than their chronological age, were not as healthy or physically fit. This group was also more likely to show cognitive decline and was at a greater risk for age-related health conditions.

A growing body of research demonstrates that the keys to aging successfully are a combination of exercising regularly, keeping engaged with life, and maintaining a healthy diet with nutritious foods. These three key elements could contribute to aging gracefully, and successfully, too. POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice, known for its antioxidants, is part of a healthy diet.

**THE ANTIOXIDANT SUPERPOWER IN A BOTTLE.** One easy way to get a head start on aging successfully is to add something like POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice to your daily routine. POM contains pomegranate polyphenols, antioxidants known to combat unstable molecules that can cause damage to your cells. These harmful molecules are called free radicals. To maximize the polyphenol antioxidant levels, every 16oz bottle of POM contains the juice from four whole-pressed pomegranates.



An in vitro study at UCLA found that pomegranate juice has, on average, more antioxidant capacity than red wine, cranberry juice or green tea. It's easy to enjoy all the healthy benefits of pomegranates every day with POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice. It's great alone or added to your favorite breakfast smoothie. So make POM part of your daily routine. Your body will thank you.

**POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice can be found in the produce section. It is also available on Amazon.**

©2019 POM Wonderful LLC. All Rights Reserved. POM, POM WONDERFUL, ANTIOXIDANT SUPERPOWER, the accompanying logos and the Bubble Bottle Design are trademarks of POM Wonderful LLC or its affiliates. PJ180814-07





# From the Editor

## Seeing the bright side

WHILE WE LIVE AT A TIME WHEN DIVISION is the norm; when biases and beliefs seem static and immobile; when hard science is debatable; when journalism is devalued; when humanity is stripped from those in cells, centers and shelters; when it's all just too much to organize in our heads, art calls to the optimism within us and beckons us to breathe.

When I was invited to guest-edit this issue, TIME's second special issue devoted to optimism, it was on a particularly dreary day. The national headlines were what we've come to expect: bigotry, poverty, injustice, trauma, trouble. I weighed my own feelings of despair and doubt against the idea of reveling in an experience dedicated to optimism. The choice was easy. I wanted to explore the other side. And so, working on this issue with the stellar team at TIME helped me to remember a simple truth: that prioritizing hope whenever possible is a brave and bold thing to do. In that way, this issue is a gift to me, a necessary reminder to grasp joy with both arms and embrace it like a great love.

**IN THESE PAGES**, we explore not only the idea of optimism but its representation. The literal visibility of the proverbial bright side. To me, that is the job of art. To meet us where we are and to invite us in—to think, to feel, to wonder, to dream, to debate, to laugh, to resist, to roam, to imagine. Art is worthy of our interrogation and is in fact an antidote for our times. For the vital moment comes when we each must understand that the social, political and historical connect-edness born of traumatic experiences can and should transform to true, elongated engagement with one another. Engagement not steeped in fear and separation, but in shared knowledge, recognition and contentment. Art instigates all of this.

In the issue, we celebrate and suggest ways that one can find inspiration in our present



*DuVernay, the second guest editor in TIME's 96-year history, meets with the publication's staff*

moment through the work of artists who carve a path for us all. Whether a filmmaker or a photographer, an author or an actress, a poet or a painter, these pages are filled with people who use art as a weapon for dynamic optimism. When we pivot from the perils of politics and power to the blade of grass, the note of music, the line of a novel, the expression on the screen, we breathe deeply and are revived. As the gifted theologian Howard Thurman once wrote: "Whatever may be the tensions and the stresses of a particular day, there is always lurking close at hand the trailing beauty of forgotten joy or unremembered peace."

Our goal here is for you to luxuriate in that lurking as we present the idea of optimism, hopeful progress and radical change through the appreciation of art.

Onward,

*Ava DuVernay, GUEST EDITOR*



*A portrait of 94-year-old actor Cicely Tyson, taken by photographer Djeneba Aduayom, and an original painting by 36-year-old painter Nelson Makamo appear on separate covers for this week's issue*





# Conversation



## WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

**BEYOND WALLS** The Feb. 4–11 special report on global migration by Haley Sweetland Edwards helped some readers see migrants “not as criminals, but as people escaping tough situations to improve their lives,” as @secretgcd tweeted.

But others noted that their perspective on illegal border crossers wasn’t changed. “If the very first thing someone does on U.S. soil is break the law,” argued Ray Erikson of North Redington Beach, Fla., “why should they ever be trusted with citizenship?”

Sandra W. Felkenes of Portland, Ore., was left wanting to know more about data that suggest migrants do not take Americans’ jobs, and Leslie Everett of Falcon Heights, Minn., had a different question—how to address issues like security in Central America so fewer flee in the first place.

**TO FIX FACEBOOK** The Jan. 28 cover story about Facebook by one of its early investors, Roger McNamee, prompted reader debate on whether Silicon Valley needs more government regulation. Micheal Bernal of Morgan Hill, Calif., said that “may be the only way to

correct the problems,” while Steve Mullany of Nipomo, Calif., argued that legislators don’t keep up with the latest tech enough to regulate it. And Hassel Hill Jr. of Aurora, Colo., said the story was “revealing” but Tim Cook’s accompanying essay left him thinking that industry insiders aren’t “willing to recognize that they could not fix the problem” themselves.

**‘I have deleted my Facebook account. The benefit was hardly worth the burden of the loss of my privacy.’**

TROY ANDERSON  
Reno, Nev.

**‘I will pass this copy to my grandchildren. There are lessons to be learned.’**

BARBARA COLLETT,  
Gainesville, Fla.



**BEHIND THE COVER** To illustrate an issue on optimism, artist Nelson Makamo thought a portrait of a child would be a natural choice. Adults forget there’s “beauty in being a human being,” while “children are just discovering that,” as he puts it. Learn all about the 36-year-old Johannesburg-based artist at [time.com/optimists-cover](http://time.com/optimists-cover)

## DAVOS DEBRIEF

TIME’s presence at the World Economic Forum meeting included an opening-night event, a panel on protecting the oceans moderated by editor Haley Sweetland Edwards, and a discussion of inequality with TIME editor-in-chief Edward Felsenthal (far left), which went viral after historian

Rutger Bregman (far right) urged attendees to confront the issue of tax evasion. More from Davos on page 28 and at [time.com/davos](http://time.com/davos)



**SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT** ▶ In “Beyond Walls” (Feb. 4–11), we mischaracterized a law passed recently in Denmark. The law restricts where women can wear the niqab and burqa. In that same issue, in “Future Facts,” we misstated the area of New Zealand. It is roughly 104,000 sq. mi. In the Jan. 28 Table of Contents, we misidentified the subject of that issue’s “Quick Talk.”

## TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:  
[letters@time.com](mailto:letters@time.com)  
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:  
[@time](https://www.facebook.com/time) (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer’s full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

**Back Issues** Contact us at [help.single@customersvc.com](mailto:help.single@customersvc.com) or call 1-800-274-6800. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at [time.com/reprints](http://time.com/reprints). To request custom reprints, visit [timereprints.com](http://timereprints.com). **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit [timemediakit.com](http://timemediakit.com). **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, visit [timeinc.com/syndication](http://timeinc.com/syndication).



Please recycle this magazine and remove inserts or samples before recycling



**'It's a dangerous sport ... I would have a hard time with it.'**

**DONALD TRUMP, U.S.**

President, after CBS News asked whether he would let his 12-year-old son Barron play football, in an interview that aired on Super Bowl Sunday

*'There are lots of strange people who say the elderly people are to blame, but that is wrong. The problem is those who don't have children.'*

**TARO ASO**, Japan's 78-year-old Deputy Prime Minister, on the country's aging population, at a Feb. 3 event; he later retracted the comment and apologized to "some" who were offended

# 'I DARESAY THAT HUMANITY HASN'T MATURED.'

**POPE FRANCIS**, on the "second-class" status of women around the world, having acknowledged for the first time, on Feb. 5, that sexual abuse of nuns by clergymen is a problem within the Catholic Church



# 52

Number of consecutive hours below 0°F in Chicago during the last week of January, the Windy City's fourth longest such streak since 1930

**'Compassionate treatment at the border is not the same as open borders.'**

**STACEY ABRAMS**, former minority leader for the Georgia house of representatives, in the Democratic Party rebuttal to President Trump's Feb. 5 State of the Union address



# 34

Distance in miles that the magnetic North Pole has been moving on average each year since 2000; "erratic" magnetic-field shifts prompted the National Centers for Environmental Information to release a Feb. 4 update to its models

*'My best advice for young women in tech is to have a man's name like Randi.'*

**RANDI ZUCKERBERG**, entrepreneur, in a Feb. 4 CNN interview about leaving Facebook, which was co-founded by her brother Mark, to start her own company

**Condo**  
Manhattan condo sales declined four of the past five years



**Kondo**  
Tidying expert Marie Kondo's Netflix show sparks such a junk-clearing surge that thrift stores set donation limits



# The Brief

**CAUGHT OUT**  
A hidden world  
of crime was in  
full view at the  
trial of El Chapo,  
seen here in 2016  
with Mexican  
authorities



**INSIDE**

POPE FRANCIS TAKES A RISK ON  
A HISTORY-MAKING TRIP TO THE  
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

THE VIRGINIA GOVERNOR'S  
RESPONSE TO SCANDAL RAISES  
NEW POLITICAL QUESTIONS

BIRDS TAKE AN UNUSUAL FLIGHT  
AFTER SOUTH AFRICA DROUGHT  
PROMPTS EMERGENCY AIRLIFT

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSE MENDEZ



## LAW ENFORCEMENT

# Dealing with drugs, beyond El Chapo

By Melissa Chan

**T**WO BRAZEN PRISON ESCAPES IS A LOT FOR A jury to look past. But in closing arguments at the federal trial of the world's most famous accused drug lord, his lawyer pleaded with jurors to do just that. Look past the notorious nickname and headline-grabbing revelations of the trial, he implored in a voice first booming then softening, and see the man Joaquín Guzmán rather than “the myth of El Chapo.”

But by the time jurors began deliberations on Feb. 4, government prosecutors had put forth what they called an “avalanche of evidence” that Guzmán—who had been facing the possibility of life in an American prison since his trial began in Brooklyn in November—deserved his infamy. Across three months, prosecutors had laid out text messages, audio recordings and dozens of testimonies painting Guzmán as a serial philanderer and a murderous cartel kingpin who regularly resorted to violence to defend his stake in the multibillion-dollar Sinaloa cartel.

“Do not let him escape responsibility,” Assistant U.S. Attorney Andrea Goldbarg said, alluding to the prison escapes, by laundry cart and tunnel, that made Guzmán a household name in the U.S. even before his 2017 extradition. “Hold him accountable for his crimes.”

And yet U.S. authorities are among those eager to look past the El Chapo myth, if in a different way than defense lawyers ask. The drug business may hold allure to show business—the actor Alejandro Edda, who portrays Guzmán in Netflix’s *Narcos: Mexico*, showed up in the gallery one day—but the trial methodically laid out the reality of how a massive criminal enterprise is run on a daily basis. A witness testified that, in 2008, Guzmán commissioned an encrypted communication network for use by members of his inner circle; the Colombian IT specialist who built the network flipped, giving U.S. authorities key access to the entire system. A dozen of the 56 prosecution witnesses were admitted criminals—many of them among Guzmán’s closest confidants—who had struck deals in hopes of shortening their own prison sentences. The defense team made much of this tactic.

Prosecutors, for their part, made clear that the pursuit of justice was a far greater challenge south of the border. Cooperating witnesses described how the cartel breached the highest levels of the Mexican government and its police force. One of the most damning allegations to emerge was

the claim that Guzmán paid former Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto \$100 million to stop looking for him while he was on the lam. Peña Nieto’s former chief of staff has vigorously denied the claim.

U.S. law-enforcement agents also told jurors how corruption hindered previous efforts to capture Guzmán and other cartel leaders. U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agent Victor Vazquez testified that the 2014 mission to recapture Guzmán in Mazatlán, Mexico, worked only because it was kept secret from the local police, who experience warned might tip off the targets of raids. “Using them again,” he said, “was not going to work.”

**A TRIAL IS ALWAYS A SHOW.** On any typical day during El Chapo’s, dozens of journalists and tourists lined up in the courthouse lobby before 7 a.m. to vie for seats. Guzmán would enter with a wave to his wife Emma Coronel Aispuro, then shake hands with his attorneys.

But for all the attention, researchers say it’s unclear that taking down any individual kingpin does much to impact the illegal drug trade, fueled by relentless demand in America. Other criminals step up to take over vacant roles, and the period of instability often triggers more violence.

Yet law enforcement presses on. The DEA’s latest National Drug Threat Assessment says Mexican criminal enterprises like the Sinaloa cartel pose the greatest illegal drug threat to the U.S. Guzmán’s trial presented much evidence of his skill at finding new ways to get drugs across the border—by plane, train, automobile, submarine, tunnel and even, allegedly, in cans of jalapeño peppers. The merits of President Trump’s border wall went unaddressed.

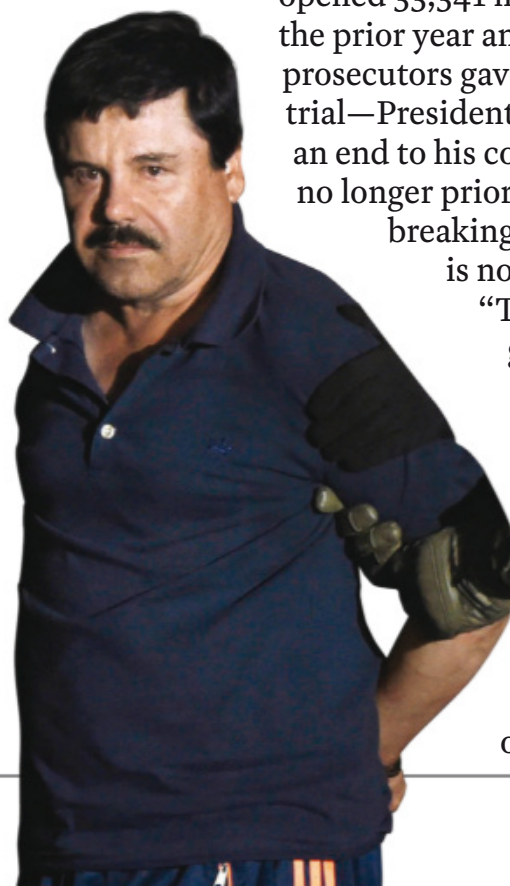
On the Mexican side, meanwhile, a new President has announced a new approach, one driven by revulsion at the extraordinary bloodshed associated with the drug trade. In 2018, Mexican officials opened 33,341 murder investigations, a 33% increase over the prior year and a new high. On Jan. 30—the very day prosecutors gave their closing arguments in the El Chapo trial—President Andrés Manuel López Obrador declared an end to his country’s war on drugs, saying he would no longer prioritize capturing cartel bosses, in hopes of breaking the cycle of violence. “[Arresting them] is not our main purpose,” said López Obrador.

“The main purpose of the government is to guarantee public safety.”

López Obrador, a leftist elected in July by the largest margin in Mexico’s modern history, vowed instead to address the root causes of crime. “Hugs, not gunshots,” and “You can’t fight fire with fire” were among his campaign’s slogans. There are plenty of skeptics. But the trial of El Chapo—full of revelations as it was—offered few options for a different path forward. □

**‘You don’t have to give in to the myth of El Chapo.’**

JEFFREY LICHTMAN, defense attorney for Joaquín “El Chapo” Guzmán (below), to jurors on Jan. 31







Pope Francis with Ahmed el-Tayeb, the Grand Imam of al-Azhar, at an Abu Dhabi mosque on Feb. 4

#### THE BULLETIN

## On historic trip, Pope Francis tries to bridge gulfs

**THE FIRST-EVER PAPAL VISIT TO THE** Arabian Peninsula, the birthplace of Islam, was meant to build bridges between faiths. But shortly after Pope Francis touched down in Abu Dhabi, the capital of the United Arab Emirates, on Feb. 3, he made the visit about more than just religion. The UAE is a member of the Saudi-led coalition that has been bombing Yemen since 2015, part of a campaign that the U.S. supports and that the Vatican has criticized. Francis risked his host's displeasure to make a public point about the crisis in Yemen.

**GOOD RELATIONS** For Pope Francis, who began his papacy by taking strides to improve interfaith dialogue, the historic visit was a chance to cement ties with Islamic leaders. Together with an influential imam, he signed a "document on human fraternity" on Feb. 4, which calls for believers to "refrain from using the name of God to justify acts of murder, exile, terrorism and oppression." The church hopes better relations will improve the fate of persecuted Christians around the world.

**PAST PROTEST** Before landing in Abu Dhabi, Francis issued his strongest condemnation yet of the violence in Yemen. "Many children are suffering from hunger, but cannot access food depots," he said, urging fighters to respect a cease-fire and allow aid convoys through. The U.N. says the war has caused the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today, contributing to a cholera outbreak and tens of thousands of deaths.

**BALANCING ACT** Even as the UAE has proclaimed 2019 a "year of tolerance" and taken steps to remove barriers to the public worship of religions other than Islam, the state has cracked down on dissenters, including critics of the war. But when Francis made tolerance his topic in a Feb. 4 speech, he said that religious people have a duty to reject war and its "fateful consequences," adding that he was "thinking in particular of Yemen, Syria, Iraq and Libya." In using the language of faith to discuss Yemen, Francis bridged another gap that the UAE has tried to preserve: the one between politics and religion. —BILLY PERRIGO

#### NEWS TICKER

### Protests erupt after Brooklyn jail loses heat

Crowds gathered outside the Brooklyn Metropolitan Detention Center over the course of a week during which the facility **largely went without power and heat as temperatures dropped into the single digits.** A federal judge visited to investigate conditions after power was restored on Feb. 3.

### Rival peace talks rile Afghanistan

Afghanistan's President Ashraf Ghani **criticized dozens of political and social leaders who took part in talks with the Taliban without him** in Moscow on Feb. 5, a week after U.S. talks with the group produced a draft deal to end the 18-year war. Ghani said those involved had "no executive authority."

### Feds subpoena Inauguration records

Federal prosecutors on Feb. 4 ordered President Trump's Inaugural committee to turn over documents related to donors, finances and more, in a **sign of an expanding criminal investigation.** The subpoena shows prosecutors are looking into potential fraud and money laundering by the group, which raised \$106.7 million.



## GOOD QUESTION

### What does it take to force a politician to resign these days?

RALPH NORTHAM'S CAREER LOOKED cooked. On Feb. 1, Virginians learned that their governor's 1984 medical-school yearbook page included a picture of a person in blackface alongside another in a Ku Klux Klan-style robe and hood. Within hours, everyone from local legislators to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee had called on Northam to resign.

But as political junkies counted the minutes until the Democrat's exit, Northam did something few anticipated: he apologized for the photo, denied he was in it and refused to quit.

Even as the party struggled to understand the impact of that surprise, a separate allegation emerged about Northam's would-be successor, Lieutenant Governor Justin Fairfax. California political science professor Vanessa Tyson claimed that Fairfax had sexually assaulted her in 2004. Fairfax immediately denied the charges, describing them as a "smear" perpetrated by political rivals.

And on Feb. 6, the third in line to the job, Attorney General Mark Herring,

disclosed that he too had donned blackface in 1980.

If all three go without appointing another successor, a Republican would become governor.

The cascade highlighted how changing norms are posing new challenges for politicians and their parties. Heightened awareness of racial inequality is casting once overlooked bigoted behavior in a new light. And the #MeToo movement is giving women courage to say they were victims of assault at the hands of men whose earlier denials would have gone unchallenged.

The events also showed how today's mercurial media will shape the 2020 cycle's inevitable political flare-ups. On the one hand, the high-speed news cycle accelerates fringe posts into the mainstream—both the Northam photo and the Fairfax allegation were first reported by a right-wing website. On the other, the same news pace can shorten the danger zone for an accused politician.

Hunkered down in Richmond, Northam might be looking at the GOP for lessons on how to survive. Some Re-

publicans called for then candidate Donald Trump to leave the 2016 ticket after he was heard bragging of groping women on a decade-old tape that emerged in October 2016. He declined and went on to win the presidency a month later. When sexual-assault allegations against Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh surfaced last year, he looked

doomed. He forcefully denied them. GOP Senators stood by him. He now stands to shape the country for a generation.

A majority of Senate Democrats, by contrast, exiled Minnesota Senator Al Franken in late 2017 in the wake of sexual-misconduct allegations. Unlike Trump, Franken acquiesced—which many Democrats now regret.

So where are the new lines drawn? No one knows. But the slate of potential Democratic challengers to Trump

is already filled with a diverse group of candidates intent on elevating gender and racial justice to the fore.

As for Northam, he seems to think a dose of defiance and voters' fleeting attention span may spare him. After all, Trump is in the White House.

—PHILIP ELLIOTT

**'If I were to listen to the voices calling on me to resign my office today, I could spare myself from the difficult path that lies ahead'**

GOVERNOR RALPH NORTHAM, on Feb. 2



## NATURE

### Animal emergencies

With their breeding grounds in drought-stricken South Africa left dangerously dry, thousands of baby flamingos were airlifted to safer spots in early February. Here, other animal evacuations. —George Steer

#### BOVINE BOTHER

Two cows and a calf were left stranded atop a small mound of earth after a magnitude-7.8 earthquake rocked New Zealand in 2016. A rescue team eventually managed to get the cattle out of their predicament.

#### NOAH'S BARK

Pets often get left behind when a storm prompts evacuation—but last September, one man named Tony Alsup, driving an old school bus, got 53 dogs and 11 cats out of South Carolina before Hurricane Florence made landfall.

#### EQUINE ESCAPE

During the deadly 2018 California wildfires, Los Angeles County Animal Care and Control reported having rescued 815 animals from danger—including 550 horses. Other groups rescued alpacas, turkeys, ducks, rabbits and more.





# THE MIGHTY MISSISSIPPI

## EXPLORE AMERICA'S HEARTLAND

BREATHTAKING VIEWS ★ HISTORIC DESTINATIONS ★ SPACIOUS ACCOMMODATIONS

### THEME CRUISES

CIVIL WAR, MUSIC  
HOLIDAY, CULINARY

### AWARD WINNING

ONBOARD ENRICHMENT  
SHORE EXCURSIONS

### NEWEST FLEET

WITH LARGEST  
STATEROOMS



**FREE CRUISE GUIDE**

**1-800-981-9139**  
AmericanCruiseLines.com



## NEWS TICKER

### Himalayan glaciers under grave threat

Rising temperatures will melt a third of the glaciers found in the Himalayas by 2100, even if global climate-change targets are met, a Feb. 4 report warns. If efforts to cut carbon emissions fail, the Hindu Kush Himalaya Assessment said, **two-thirds of the glaciers would vanish.**

### More troops to U.S.-Mexico border

The U.S. Defense Department will send 3,750 more troops to the country's southern border, the Pentagon said Feb. 3. These new forces, which will be deployed for 90 days, will **support Customs and Border Protection** with mobile surveillance and by erecting 150 miles of concertina wire between ports of entry.

### Power changes hands in El Salvador

Nayib Bukele, a businessman and former mayor, **won a landslide victory in El Salvador's presidential elections on Feb. 3.** Having run on an anticorruption platform, Bukele, 37, told supporters they'd "turned the page on power" by selecting a leader from outside the two parties that ruled the nation since 1989.



### DIED John O. Marsh Jr. Trusted aide to Presidents

KNOWN FOR BEING AMERICA's longest-serving Secretary of the Army, under Reagan and Bush 41, John O. Marsh Jr.—who died Feb. 4 at 92—was also a loyal soldier in the Nixon and Ford administrations. Wanting to work in the battlefield as well as the bureaucracy, Marsh took a month off from representing Virginia in Congress, which he did from 1963 to 1971, to serve in Vietnam as a combat infantry officer. "Anyone who can make 38 parachute jumps while serving as a Congressman has to be fairly calm and unflappable," President Ford once wrote of Marsh. "And Jack was certainly that. But he was also a man of incredibly good judgment."

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

## BEGAN

### A history-making legislative session

NEVADA'S NEW LEGISLATIVE SESSION ON FEB. 4 signaled more than the start of government as usual. It carried the weight of history. The session marked the first time in U.S. history that women have made up a majority of any state's legislature.

The occasion served as a reminder of the barriers women are breaking and of the work left to be done. The 2018 midterm elections saw a record number of women elected to Congress as well as to lower offices across the country. But even with those gains, less than 30% of state legislators nationwide are women, and women hold just 23.7% of the seats in Congress. Before 2019, just one chamber of one state legislature had ever been majority-women; now Nevada's mix of state representatives and senators matches the country's population, at 50.8% female. (Colorado's lower chamber also has more women than men.)

"Our foremothers, speaker [Barbara] Buckley and [Marilyn] Kirkpatrick, along with scores of dozens of other female legislators, have cleared a path for us, a path that we will now walk," assembly majority leader Teresa Benitez-Thompson said on the assembly floor on opening day. "Our journey will be embedded into strength and hard work, and we will make this state and our nation proud."

—ABIGAIL ABRAMS



Thirty-two women in the Nevada legislature, on Feb. 4

## CHANGED

The **names of 15 candidates** in the Thai elections, to match those of former Prime Ministers, in a blatant attempt to boost recognition.

## PERFORMED

The first Missing Man Flyover with **only female pilots** by the

U.S. Navy, on Feb. 2, in honor of the late Captain Rosemary Mariner, the first woman to command a naval aviation squadron.

## UNVEILED

**Fifty mummies** from the Ptolemaic era, by archeologists working south of Cairo.

## SELECTED

**David Bernhardt**, former oil lobbyist, as President Trump's nomination for Interior Secretary. Bernhardt has been acting Secretary since Ryan Zinke resigned in December.

## STARTED

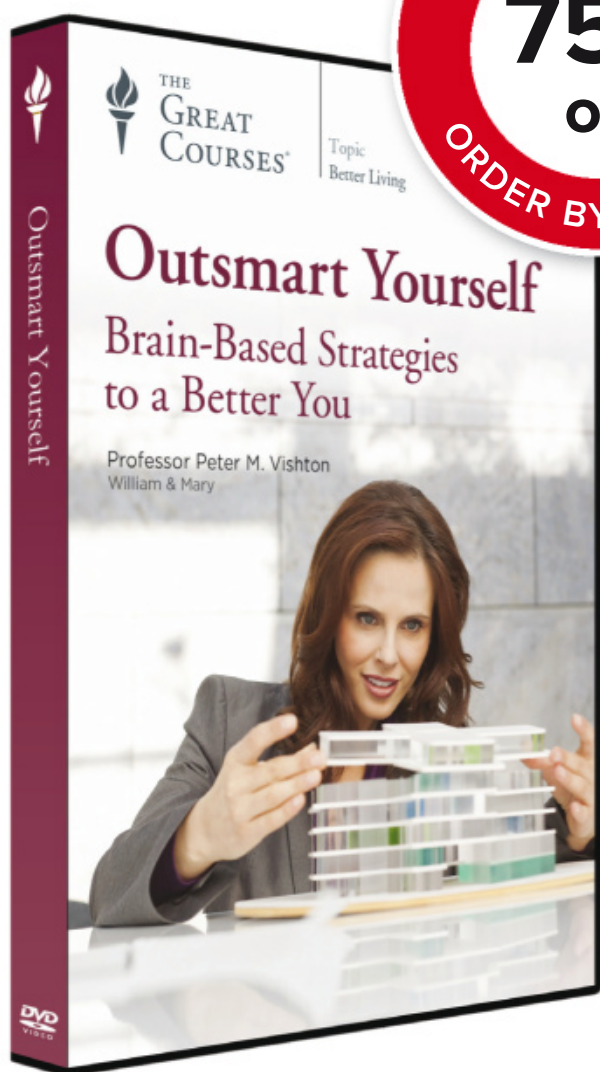
Construction on a

new **aboveground steel barrier** along the Gaza Strip, by Israel, according to the country's Defense Ministry Feb. 3.

## ENDED

The **fact-checking partnership** between Snopes and Facebook, after Snopes said it wasn't working.





## Hack Your Brain Using Neuroscience

Feeling the urge to procrastinate? Do nothing for 20 minutes and you'll feel ready to get to work. Come down with a case of the blues? Try eating some fermented foods such as yogurt or sourdough bread.

The brain is an amazing instrument, and neuroscientists today have more information than ever about how it works—as well as strategies for helping us live better every day. The surprising thing is just how counterintuitive some of these strategies can be. Unpack eye-opening insights and more in **Outsmart Yourself: Brain-Based Strategies to a Better You**. Taught by Professor Peter M. Vishton of William & Mary, these 24 practical lectures draw from a wealth of scientific evidence to take you inside your brain and show you why you behave the way you do—and what steps you can take to improve your well-being.

**Offer expires 03/18/19**

**THEGREATCOURSES.COM/7TME**  
**1-800-832-2412**

## Outsmart Yourself: Brain-Based Strategies to a Better You

Taught by Professor Peter M. Vishton  
WILLIAM & MARY

### LECTURE TITLES

1. Take Control of Your Automatic Brain
2. Beat Procrastination by Doing Nothing
3. Train Yourself like a Dog
4. Clean Your Kitchen, Improve Your Diet
5. Eat Slow, Eat Small, Eat Smart
6. The Myth of Multitasking
7. Future You and Better Decisions
8. How to Become an Expert on Anything
9. Tune Up Your Brain with Meditation
10. Take the Sleep Challenge
11. Boost Insights and Creativity
12. Enhance Performance with Imagery
13. Overcome Your Aging Brain
14. Grow Your Brain Out of Depression
15. Hack Your Brain to Unlearn Fear
16. Use Your Body to Alter Your Mind
17. Suppress—Don't Repress—Anger
18. How Little Things Cause Big Persuasion
19. How Framing Changes Decisions
20. How Language Changes Your Brain
21. How Your Brain Falls in Love
22. The Neuroscience of Lasting Love
23. How Your Brain Creates Happiness
24. Happy Brains Are Smart Brains

**Outsmart Yourself:**  
Brain-Based Strategies to a Better You  
Course no. 1670 | 24 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

**SAVE UP TO \$220**

DVD ~~\$269.95~~ **NOW \$49.95**  
Video Download ~~\$234.95~~ **NOW \$34.95**

+\$10 Shipping & Processing (DVD only) and  
Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

**Priority Code: 169531**

For over 25 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free apps for iPad, iPhone, Android, Kindle Fire, or Roku. Over 700 courses available at [www.TheGreatCourses.com](http://www.TheGreatCourses.com).



## Chef **Sandra Lee** has risen to fame on will, charm and Cool Whip. Now she's taking on cancer

By **Belinda Luscombe**

SANDRA LEE, THE CREATOR OF THE *SEMI-Homemade* brand of cookbooks, magazines and TV shows and a person who leaves nothing to chance, is sitting in a high-ceilinged ballroom on Wall Street on a rainy evening the weekend after Thanksgiving, listening to a local official present her with a tribute. But, sincere as the speech is, it cannot be heard over the chatter of the members of the New York City independent-film community who have turned out for the IFP Gotham awards.

This is not Lee's usual audience. To New York's indie-film elite, she is that woman who rose to fame on her ability to gussy up ready-made food into something that feels like a home-cooked dinner on the Food Network. Rachel Weisz, Glenn Close and Ethan Hawke are among the assembled throng—it's probably more of a Padma Lakshmi crowd. Still, when Lee rises to give her acceptance speech, the room falls quiet.

Lee, 52, is being honored with a Made in New York award for her film *Rx: Early Detection, a Cancer Journey With Sandra Lee*, an HBO documentary in which she chronicled her 2015 treatment for breast cancer. It's a brave film, in that it lets viewers see many of the more gory parts of getting a double mastectomy, and some of the less glorious parts of being Sandra Lee.

That she can work this room—indeed that she is even in this room—is testament to Lee's unlikely journey from marketer of DIY home decor to award-winning TV host and author of 27 books to politically connected health advocate. In a way few can manage, Lee has lived her brand. Just as she once transformed ice cream, cocoa, Cool Whip and store-bought lemon icing into a baked-potato-shaped dessert, she has scraped together whatever she had and, with a little prettying up and a lot of will, made it look extraordinary.

The particular award Lee is receiving, for example, is given out by the New York City mayor's office. Interestingly, Lee is the longtime girlfriend of New York Governor Andrew Cuomo, who is the long-term *bête noire* of the city's current mayor, Bill de Blasio. So, as well as being a nod to her willingness to take on a tough subject (she funded the film herself), the honor speaks to Lee's ability to use to her advantage circumstances that would seem to many to be deeply unfavorable.

### LEE QUICK FACTS

#### Prolific producer

Lee has published 27 books and produced 15 TV seasons in the *Semi-Homemade* series.

#### Aggressive treatment

A pre-emptive double mastectomy for her form of cancer is unusual, but Lee wanted to avoid radiation and chemo and reduce the risk of a recurrence.

#### First Birds

Lee has two cockatoos, one of whom, Phoenix, is house-trained and flies freely around her home in Westchester County, N.Y.

Perhaps most of all, her presence at the awards is also evidence of Lee's unassailable congeniality. The First Girlfriend of New York, as she jokes about being called, has many critics. Her style of cooking is a favorite target of the Internet mock-o-sphere. (Feel free to google "Kwanzaa cake" for a sample.) But very few people, no matter their feelings for Lee the chef or Lee the award recipient, can withstand the force of Lee the friendly person. Take the subject line of her email to set up the first meeting with a reporter from a national newsweekly: "R U my date, dear????"

This is a divorced ex-convert to Judaism living with a divorced Catholic who has been personally blessed by the Pope twice. This is a woman who got Florence Henderson, of *Brady Bunch* fame, to sell her wares on infomercials, after Henderson's agent turned her down three times. "I told her what I wanted to do and how I wanted to do it," says Lee of her big break. "And I said, 'This is how much money I have left, and I'll give all of it to you if you please help me.'" According to acknowledgments at the end of her documentary, Elton John and Bono helped her out. Lee makes friends the way Raytheon makes missiles: expertly and with precision aim.

Her greatest asset may be her ability to make people feel instantly that she's 100% on their side. She's immediately intimate, sharing more vulnerability than a new relationship might warrant and quick to offer advice, sympathy or the Name of Someone Who Can Do Something. "I'm the help," Lee says, a week or so after the awards, sitting in the lobby of the apartment building/hotel she stays in while in Manhattan. "I'm like, 'What do your kids need? What can I do for you?'"

**LEE'S ALLIANCE-FORMING SKILLS** were refined in the crucible of her nonidyllic childhood. As detailed in her 2007 memoir *Made From Scratch*, her mother was 16 and her father not much older when Sandra Lee Waldroop was born in Washington State. Her parents' union did not last, and Lee bounced between her mother, who left her for years with her grandparents; her father in Wisconsin, against whom she would later testify when one of his girlfriends accused him of assault; and—most happily, she says—her aunt and uncle in California. She says she hasn't spoken to her mother since she left her home at 15.

Perhaps because of this chaotic upbringing, Lee developed a knack for organization and for making things look more appealing than they were. Her first company, Kurtain Kraft, launched in 1993, was a system for creating window treatments with fabric and cheap pieces of hardware. That grew into other DIY home and kitchen shortcuts, cookbooks and eventually an offer from the Food Network to bring the





semihomemade-meal concept to TV. “It took nine months to negotiate that because I really didn’t want to do the show,” says Lee, who adds, “It wound up being the highest-rated new show launched in the history of the network.” (A Food Network spokesperson says it was one of the top three new shows in its premiere year.) She knows her peers snicker at her recipes but believes she’s helping people, no matter their resources, have better lives. Take her table settings: “It doesn’t have to be china and silver; it can be paper and plastic and still be extraordinary,” says Lee.

By and large, Lee now has all she missed out on as a child. She’s wealthy, she’s respectable and she has a wide circle of well-connected friends. Recently she has begun to use these advantages to do for cancer screenings what she did for cuisine: take out a lot of the effort. “We shouldn’t have to choose between heating our homes or talking to our kids’ principal and getting screened,” she says.

Lee was mostly apolitical for Cuomo’s first two terms. She says the two of them use a one-to-10 rating system for how important her presence is at events. If it’s a seven or higher, she’ll go. But in 2016,

***‘I’m the help. I’m like, “What do your kids need? What can I do for you?”’***

SANDRA LEE, on her desire to be helpful to the people in her life

she flexed some political muscle to aid the passage of New York’s “No Excuses” law, which eliminates co-pays and deductibles for mammograms and requires many clinics and hospitals to remain open on evenings and weekends.

Lee is now attempting to meet with other governors to lobby for similar legislation, starting with the states where she grew up. Given that her family tree has no other breast-cancer sufferers, she believes something in her environment could have triggered the disease. She has already had conversations with California’s Gavin Newsom and Washington’s Jay Inslee, both of whom have relatives who have had breast cancer. She’s also plotting to deploy her charm arsenal wider, to “doctors, the health care system or the drug companies—whatever it is” to ensure people have access to screenings and care. Some health advocates note that screenings are not a panacea, are not recommended for women under 50 and can even lead to unnecessary treatment. But Lee is undeterred. “I’ve had enough conflict in my life,” says Lee. “If I’m going to have to be aggressive, let it be for something like cancer.” □



# LightBox

## Six ways from Sunday

Though Super Bowl LIII, a 13-3 victory for the New England Patriots over the Los Angeles Rams, was a bit of a stinker as a game, its result was stunning. The Hall of Fame-worthy plan by Patriots coach Bill Belichick, with its mix of confusing coverages, left the Rams flummoxed and punting. Super Bowl MVP Julian Edelman (*left*) made 10 catches for 141 yards. Tom Brady (*right*) clinched a record sixth career Super Bowl win; at 41, he's set a new standard for middle-aged pros. He has no plans to retire. A dynasty reigns on.

Photograph by Lionel Hahn—Abaca/Sipa USA

► For more of our best photography, visit [time.com/lightbox](http://time.com/lightbox)











**GEICO®**



# COMBINE HOME & AUTO

insurance and you could save.



[geico.com](http://geico.com) | 1-800-947-AUTO | Local Office



Some discounts, coverages, payment plans and features are not available in all states, in all GEICO companies, or in all situations. Boat and PWC coverages are underwritten by GEICO Marine Insurance Company. Homeowners, renters and condo coverages are written through non-affiliated insurance companies and are secured through the GEICO Insurance Agency, Inc. Motorcycle and ATV coverages are underwritten by GEICO Indemnity Company. GEICO is a registered service mark of Government Employees Insurance Company, Washington, DC 20076; a Berkshire Hathaway Inc. subsidiary. © 2018 GEICO



# TheView

POLITICS

## THE ATTENTION ELECTION

By Nancy Gibbs



As the presidential rollouts begin, the contenders will tell us what to expect of them—as they calculate what to expect of us. What will it take to capture our imagination and, even more urgent, our attention? Donald Trump has shaped that test for all who hope to succeed him, and we're about to find out what that means. ▶

### INSIDE

THE IMPACT OF AMERICA  
AND RUSSIA'S ENDING  
A NUCLEAR TREATY

HOW BLACK HISTORY  
MONTH BECAME  
COMMERCIALIZED

RALPH NADER ON  
HOWARD SCHULTZ AND  
THE 'SPOILER' LABEL



# TheView Opener

Here comes as diverse and intriguing a crop of contenders as we've seen in years. But when a perfectly worthy candidate like former mayor Julián Castro talks about how "I have a strong vision for the country's future" or Senator Kirsten Gillibrand tells Stephen Colbert that "I would bring people together to start getting things done" or Senator Elizabeth Warren stands in front of her microwave only to invoke those who "work hard and play by the rules," my attention wanders. We've now lived with prolonged exposure to constant shock, to the adrenaline jolt of hearing something we never thought we'd hear from a public figure, whether about trade or tariffs or women or walls. It makes me wonder whether Trump has so accustomed us to surprise that any script, however sincere, sounds phony and forced.

Before they can start talking about vital needs or fresh ideas, candidates have to persuade us to listen. That task has perhaps never been harder, and not because we don't care. We may just no longer know how.

**ELECTIONS HAVE CONSEQUENCES;** so do campaigns, and Trump's never actually stopped. Unlike his predecessors, he saw no need to shift from running to serving, never moved past the performance art of his massive rallies where he could repeat the same outlandish promises over and over, thrilling the crowds, appalling the fact checkers, confounding his adversaries. The universe of political discourse swelled, crashing through boundaries of truth, tradition and at times decency. The audience grew too, as people never much interested in politics were drawn to the dazzle. Meanwhile, traditional gatekeepers have found themselves at a loss for how to react, other than to overreact, overread messages, overplay hands. Shared stupefaction binds us like an audience at a horror movie, our lizard brains alight.

Trump is not responsible for our attention economy. He just got in early and looked to corner the market. All this had been a long time coming, the technologies hooking us on cheap and constant stimulus, our reflective

reflexes weakening to the point that the last remaining political sin is now uncertainty.

Our political conversations have become not just dismal and mean but also way too focused on the combat instead of the context—like which problems most need solving, who has the best solutions and whether there is enough common sense left anywhere to find common ground.

The Democrats in the midterms showed great discipline, and saw great success, by focusing on health care and economic fairness and all but ignoring the President; but that is harder when someone takes him on one-on-one. Senator Kamala Harris also drew huge-at-this-stage crowds and donations while gesturing in this direction:

the President's only working pronoun is the first person singular; she made hers plural, with her admonition that *We Are Better Than This*.

Before 2020 arrives, we'll quickly get a sense of who can succeed on the field Trump has created—or who can even build a new one. While agile social-media technique may not be the same

as governing, it is now a necessary part of leadership. Hence the glow emanating from the coverage of a rookie member of Congress like Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, whose dominant use of social media has taught a world of wonks how to inject a debate over marginal tax rates into the political bloodstream. Even her name has proved too cumbersome for this restless age, now compressed to AOC—a JFK for the Twitterati.

Time is not money; attention is. It will be telling to see how people use every new tool and tactic that technology, and even Trump, has delivered unto us—not to divert and divide, but to shape a more honest, more subtle, more substantial campaign than the last one. We know how easily we can be distracted; I'm counting on the candidates who show us how we can be healed.

*Gibbs, a former editor-in-chief of TIME, is the visiting Edward R. Murrow Professor at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government*



Senator Kirsten Gillibrand announced on The Late Show that she will run for President

## SHORT READS

► Highlights  
from stories on  
[time.com/ideas](https://time.com/ideas)

### A better taxation formulation

University of Chicago law professor Daniel Hemel argues that **Senator Elizabeth Warren's proposed wealth tax on the superrich targets the right problem—the wealth gap—but is the wrong solution.**

Hemel writes that fixing the income tax code would be easier both to enforce and to have the Supreme Court uphold.

### Work stress solutions

For those who struggle with negative thinking at the office, *No Hard Feelings* authors Liz Fosslien and Mollie West Duffy have some advice. One tip is to remind yourself, **"A tiny mistake is unlikely to start a chain reaction that ends in complete disaster."**

### What industry can't fix

**"We should rid ourselves of the belief that business innovation inherently means social progress,"** argues

Winnie Byanyima, executive director of Oxfam International. She urges companies to see "their short-term gains ... are also their long-term losses in inequality, political dysfunction and social polarization."



## THE RISK REPORT

# The end of a U.S.-Russia arms treaty spells long-term trouble

By Ian Bremmer



SOME FOREIGN-policy decisions fundamentally reshape the world as we know it in an instant. Others take years for their full impact to be felt.

The Trump Administration's decision on Feb. 1 to withdraw the U.S. from the Cold War-era Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty is in the second category. The threat of nuclear war has not suddenly spiked because the U.S. decided to quit the INF treaty, nor because the Kremlin announced its intention to follow suit 24 hours later. But make no mistake: this is a decision from Washington that makes the world a more competitive, combustible place in the long term.

There's little question that Moscow indeed violated the terms of the agreement signed in 1987 by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. As tensions were rising over Ukraine back in 2014, Russia deployed a type of missile that the INF treaty was supposed to ban; then President Barack Obama even wrote a letter to Russian President Vladimir Putin to that effect, though it was in the spirit of trying to keep the treaty intact rather than break it completely. The plea fell on deaf ears. Five years later, the Trump Administration scrapped the deal altogether. From a certain angle, the decision looks eminently reasonable: What good is a treaty if one of the signatories refuses to adhere to it?

But in geopolitics, as in life, context matters. The Europeans have long known that the Russians weren't living up to the terms of the INF treaty. In an era of stronger U.S.-E.U. relations, there might have been coordination between Washington and Brussels on how to get the Russians to respect the terms of the deal rather than the U.S. deciding to do away with it altogether. As it stands, Washington's decision to walk away from the INF treaty

despite strident European objections is yet another sign to European leaders that the U.S. can no longer be counted on as a dependable partner.

Then there's China. Right now, relations between Beijing and Moscow remain relatively strong while Beijing and Washington duke it out over trade. The Chinese supported the INF treaty, if for no other reason than it meant they could build up a credible military arsenal in relative peace while both the U.S. and Russia watched from the sidelines.

Now China needs to worry about a possible missile buildup on the 2,615-mile border it shares with Russia, in addition to any possible deployment of U.S. missiles in Asia that the INF treaty prohibited. And while it's unlikely that the INF withdrawal will have much bearing on the U.S.-China trade-war negotiations currently unfolding, it adds fuel to the narrative that the U.S. and China are on a slow march toward collision.

But the most serious risk in the wake of the INF pullout is the continued deterioration of the U.S.-Russia relationship. Despite the apparent chumminess between President Donald Trump and Putin, issues like Ukraine, Syria, election interference, cyberoperations and NATO expansion all continue to push the two sides toward conflict. Already, Russia's defense ministry has said it will develop new land-based missile systems, which were forbidden under the pact.

The INF treaty, and arms control more generally, was one potential area of collaboration for Washington and Moscow to work together and make the world a safer place. Now it's yet one more point of tension. And as more developments from Robert Mueller's investigation make their way into the headlines, the last thing the world needs is more points of friction between Washington and Moscow. □

**Washington's decision to walk away from the INF treaty is yet another sign to Europeans that the U.S. can no longer be counted on as a partner**

## QUICK TALK

### Burnis R. Morris

*The author of the biography Carter G. Woodson: History, The Black Press, and Public Relations explains what Woodson, creator of Negro History Week, would think of the celebration's modern form: Black History Month.*

**How would you introduce someone to Woodson's work?** He's often referred to as the "father of black history." Many of the historians of the 19th century and early 20th century left African Americans out.

**You write that Black History Month has been "misappropriated and commercialized." How so? How would Woodson want it to be commemorated?**

The movie *Black Panther*, to some extent, exploited black history because you have people believing they have made a significant contribution to black history by having this large company make money off them. Woodson was not as interested in celebrities as he was ordinary people. He asked black newspapers to preserve their files and turned to members of his association to "write the life histories of the 'near great' but useful Negroes of whom editors and authors take no account." We often don't see that today.

—Olivia B. Waxman

*A portrait of Woodson*





## Howard Schultz's bigger problems

By Ralph Nader

BY EVEN JUST TESTING THE WATERS FOR AN INDEPENDENT presidential run in 2020, billionaire former Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz has done us a favor. He has revealed the political bigotry inherent in the torrent of “spoiler” charges immediately leveled at him by Democratic Party partisans and scores of pundits—including supposed champions of the free-speech rights of very unpopular opinions—who claim he will swing the 2020 election to President Trump. Never mind Schultz’s right to free speech, petition and assembly.

In my presidential campaigns, all the media wanted was my reaction to the spoiler charge. It didn’t matter that I worked on overdue reforms mostly supported by a majority of the public. It didn’t matter that these initiatives had been taken off the table by the two major parties. The label will surely plague Schultz too—even after he clarified on Feb. 4, “I promise I would do nothing whatsoever to be a spoiler to re-elect Donald Trump.”

But the term has also been a distraction from a deeper strategic issue: Schultz’s inclination to run as an independent candidate.

Calling himself a “lifelong Democrat,” the coffee magnate advances views that he dubiously calls “centrist” but that decidedly reflect his plutocratic class. His business practices were anti-labor. He is anti-higher-taxes-on-the-wealthy, anti-Medicare-for-all, anti-tuition-free-higher-education, anti-government-employer-of-last-resort and anti-Social-Security-protection. He calls these measures “extreme,” “unaffordable” and even “not American.”

He frets deeply about growing federal deficits without distinguishing those that come from corporate welfare (which Starbucks has received) and the massive Trump tax cuts (which Schultz has denounced)—in contrast to deficits from infrastructure capital investments that generate GDP growth and efficiencies.

He praises Ronald Reagan and calls Trump “unqualified.” Yes, he wants to stay in the Paris climate accord. And he has a more open stance on immigration than Trump. But moderate Republican voters share those views as well.

Howard Schultz’s agenda is simply far closer to the GOP’s agenda. He would be better off registering as a Republican and challenging President Trump inside the party primaries, where he would receive massive visibility.

**CURRENTLY, SCHULTZ IS** testing his dream theory that many people in the Republican and Democratic parties bridle at their parties’ polar extremes. Enough such voters can, in Schultz’s view, be joined with truly up-for-grabs independent voters to give him the edge in a three-way race. He will soon be disabused.

Independent candidate Ross Perot received more than 19 million votes in 1992 and briefly led the polls in that three-way race. He received not one Electoral College vote. It is very doubtful that the less evocative Schultz will come close to Perot’s total, disadvantaged as he will be by the same winner-take-all system and even higher hurdles to get in the two-party-controlled presidential debates. (Perot managed to overcome the latter.)

In no other Western democracy is it remotely as difficult for candidates to get on the ballot and give more choices and voices to the voters. Third-party

suppression is an American specialty—one I’ve experienced firsthand.

What is tragic is that this creates a pattern: since independent or third-party candidates do not have a chance to win, the media don’t give them the coverage needed to compete and grow—even when they actually represent a majority of Americans’

beliefs. It is a vicious cycle.

It once was easier to get on the ballot. A series of pioneering parties started in 1840 with the Liberty Party, which demanded the abolition of slavery. Later, the Populist, Progressive and other parties pressed for women’s suffrage, labor rights, regulation of Big Business, progressive taxation, the 40-hour workweek, health insurance, social security and electoral reforms. Not a single one won a national election, but their voters led the way on policies that the major parties eventually adopted.

Schultz is no revolutionary. Oppose or support him as you wish. But do not demand he stay out or drop out and still call yourself a small-D democrat. Ultimately, it’s the voters’ fundamental right to choose.

*Nader, a consumer advocate, ran for President four times and is the author of How the Rats Re-Formed the Congress*



Protesters rally outside a Schultz book-tour stop in Seattle on Jan. 31



SINCE 1828

COURVOISIER.

YOU'VE ARRIVED  
WHEN YOU ALL ARRIVE.



HONOR • YOUR • CODE

PLEASE ENJOY RESPONSIBLY.

Courvoisier® Cognac, 40% alc./vol. Courvoisier Import Company, Chicago, IL USA. Courvoisier, the Napoleon device, and Le Cognac de Napoleon are trademarks of Courvoisier S.A.S. ©2019 Courvoisier S.A.S.





## Small countries lead big on climate change

By Dan Stewart

THE MOST VALUABLE RESOURCE AT THE WORLD ECONOMIC Forum at Davos is time. No one has enough of it, so everyone makes compromises to make the most of it. President Carlos Alvarado Quesada of Costa Rica is no exception. As we near the 10-minute point of our interview at his hotel in the Swiss ski resort, his press officer begins to wrap things up. The Costa Rican leader is expected at the conference center, a mile and a half away, in 15 minutes, she says. So the interview continues in the presidential SUV through the icy, snow-packed streets. Even TIME has to make the most of time.

If Alvarado Quesada gets his way, such vehicles will become a rare sight in his own country. In February, his government will pledge to abolish entirely the use of fossil fuels in Costa Rica, making it the world's first "carbon zero" country. Already, much of its energy supply comes from hydro and geothermal power; he wants to reform transportation so electric vehicles are the norm on Costa Rica's roads. He's at the annual gathering of the world's political and economic elite to make the case that developing countries can lead the world in tackling climate change. "Our ambition is not only to do this on our own," he says. "We want others to follow."

With so many of the world's top-tier leaders skipping Davos this year, developing countries had a rare opportunity. President Donald Trump was dealing with a government shutdown, while British Prime Minister Theresa May tried to seal parliamentary approval for her Brexit deal. And still reeling from the *Gilets Jaunes* protests in France, President Emmanuel Macron was in no mood to be seen rubbing shoulders with the 1%.

**'We have to convince people not just to save the planet but to save ourselves.'**

Alvarado Quesada

◀ Costa Rican President Alvarado Qesada plans to eliminate fossil fuels in his country by 2050

Instead, figures like President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil and Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia made their debuts as the star attractions at Davos. The Brazilian populist underwhelmed with a brusque seven-minute speech to the conference center, delivered with all the passion of a hostage reading out his captors' list of demands. The reform-minded Ethiopian leader, however, impressed with a livelier address emphasizing his country's new openness to global values and foreign investment.

Alvarado Quesada, also attending Davos for the first time after becoming President in May 2018, did not give an address. But he spoke on a panel alongside counterparts from Ecuador and Colombia about the "human-centered future" of Latin America. "I think it was very important to show Latin America is committed not only to economic and human development, but also to the international community," he says. "To support multilateralism, especially in these times."

**A FORMER NOVELIST**, the 39-year-old is something of a rarity in the region: a left-of-center champion of social values whose support for same-sex marriage helped win him the presidency. His country too is a beacon of relative economic and political stability in a region known for high poverty and corruption. The nation of 5 million has seen steady growth for a quarter-century and has one of the lowest poverty rates in Latin America. Its leaders are mostly centrist, and the threat of military involvement in government is moot: Costa Rica scrapped its armed forces in 1948. "We believe in strong human rights, strong institutions, free press, gender equality," Alvarado Quesada says. "The best way to lead is by example. To show what's possible and what's good."

Alvarado Quesada and I spoke on Jan. 24, the day after the Trump Administration recognized the Venezuelan opposition leader Juan Guaidó as the country's President, in a direct challenge to the legitimacy



# Creating More



# SOMPO HOLDINGS

SOMPO HOLDINGS is looking to create a range of services that work together like the attractions at a theme park, to encourage the customer to return to experience it many times. SOMPO HOLDINGS is creating better services for the security, health and wellbeing of customers in insurance, nursing care and related businesses. Working together with you, we can help you live your best life and business.

For more details, go to  
[www2.sompo-hd.com/creating\\_more/](http://www2.sompo-hd.com/creating_more/)





of Nicolás Maduro's regime. Costa Rica is largely shielded from the wave of new migrants fleeing Venezuela's economic collapse by the Darien Gap, the roadless barrier separating Central from South America. But Alvarado Quesada hopes Maduro will accept the international community's demand for transparent elections as a way to solve the standoff. "I hope that will happen," he says, "because what's the alternative? The other options are not so good, for Venezuela or for anyone else."

**ALVARADO QUESADA ALSO POINTED** delegates to his country's extraordinary record of reversing deforestation. In the mid-20th century, Costa Rica's forest cover dropped from 70% to just 20%. But reforms in the 1990s, in which the government protected existing rain forests and paid land-owners to allow regions to regenerate, catalyzed a resurgence in natural growth. Today the country is more than 50% forested again. "People at the time said it was impossible," he says. "But we want to show that it's not only possible but that sustainability and growth can go hand in hand."

Now Costa Rica wants to do the impossible again and remove carbon emissions completely from its environmental balance sheet. The deadline is 2050, in accordance with the principles of the Paris Agreement. Alvarado Quesada shared with TIME a detailed, ambitious plan for how to get there due to be published on Feb. 24, from carbon pricing to reforms in transportation, industry, agriculture and waste management. I ask how he plans to persuade Costa Ricans to accept the sacrifices that his plan demands. "One part of it is to inspire people," Alvarado Quesada replies. "We have to convince people not just to save the planet but to save ourselves." He complains that at gatherings like Davos, there is often a perception that growth and sustainability are incompatible. "This is a false argument," he says. "Sustainability triggers new innovations, new developments, new jobs. It's our job to show examples that this is possible."

The presidential SUV has now arrived at the special VIP entrance to the Davos conference center. It loops through a snowy field and descends into a concrete bunker, where armed guards wave us through. As one of a cohort of young world leaders in their 30s and 40s, which includes New Zealand's Jacinda Ardern, France's Macron and Ireland's Leo Varadkar, Alvarado Quesada believes there's a generational shift in how governments are addressing environmental responsibility. "We are going to live longer in this world and see the most devastating effects of climate change," he says. "And when we grow old, people are going to ask us—did you do enough about it? So we need to start answering that question today, now." He senses in his own younger constituents an eagerness to take action, pointing for example to a successful movement to jettison single-use plastics. "I believe that the way [young people] look at these things is different."

The car pulls up to an entrance, where the presidential entourage exits and walks directly onto the ground floor of the conference center. Heads turn and cameras flash as we walk in. Alvarado Quesada may not be in the top tier of global leaders. But he's willing to walk the walk—and urge his fellow world leaders that we're running out of time. □



## HEALTH

### A humble solution to global depression

By Eben Shapiro

In Zimbabwe, the term for depression is *kufungisisa*, which translates to "thinking too much." Like many low-income countries, Zimbabwe is ill-equipped to care for its citizens suffering from mental illness. The country of roughly 16.5 million currently has about 12 trained psychiatrists.

One of those psychiatrists, Dr. Dixon Chibanda (above left, with U.K. Health Secretary Matt Hancock), has been on a mission to narrow this treatment gap ever since one of his young patients, who didn't have the \$15 bus fare to travel to a scheduled evaluation, hanged herself from a tree. In 2007, Chibanda seized on the idea of creating an informal system of therapists from the community. "It suddenly dawned on me that one of the most reliable resources we have in Africa is grandmothers," he says.

Chibanda's organization, Friendship Bench, now trains hundreds of Zimbabwean grandmothers in problem-solving therapy, role-playing and behavior activation. Their therapy sessions take place outside, on wooden seats known as Friendship Benches. Grandmothers, Chibanda says, are often best equipped to provide care because they listen and guide their charges toward a solution, unlike other members of the community who tend to direct their patients what to do. A study published in *JAMA* in 2016 illustrated the positive benefits of the innovative approach.

Chibanda's benches are now expanding to four countries in southern Africa and even making their way to New York City. In January he brought a Friendship Bench to Davos, Switzerland, as part of an effort to address depression, an escalating problem that destroys lives and costs the global economy trillions of dollars. "My dream is to take this to scale," Chibanda says. "With something simple, we make a difference in the world." □





**ABB FORMULA-E**  
FORMULA-E CHAMPIONSHIP

---

**Let's write the future**  
of living in digitally enabled cities.

ABB equips smart cities with pioneering technologies for a future of sustainable living. ABB Ability™ connected cities and industries, combined with the accelerated evolution of e-mobility, put urban life on track to the future. Let's write the future. Together. [abb.com](http://abb.com)

**ABB**



## A next step for adults with HIV who have been undetectable\* for at least six months.

\*Undetectable means keeping the amount of HIV in the blood at very low levels (less than 50 copies per mL).

### IMPORTANT FACTS

**This is only a brief summary of important information about JULUCA and does not replace talking to your healthcare provider about your condition and treatment.**

#### About JULUCA

- JULUCA is a prescription medicine that is used without other antiretroviral medicines to treat Human Immunodeficiency Virus-1 (HIV-1) infection in adults to replace their current anti-HIV-1 medicines when their healthcare provider determines that they meet certain requirements.
- HIV-1 is the virus that causes Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).
- It is not known if JULUCA is safe and effective in children.

#### How to take JULUCA

- **Take JULUCA 1 time a day exactly as your healthcare provider tells you.**
- **Always take JULUCA with a meal.** A protein drink alone does not replace a meal.

#### Do not take JULUCA if you

- have ever had an allergic reaction to a medicine that contains dolutegravir or rilpivirine.
- are taking any of the following medicines: dofetilide; carbamazepine; oxcarbazepine; phenobarbital; phenytoin; rifampin; rifapentine; proton pump inhibitors (including esomeprazole, lansoprazole, omeprazole, pantoprazole sodium, rabeprazole); St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*); or more than 1 dose of the steroid medicine dexamethasone or dexamethasone sodium phosphate.

#### Before taking JULUCA

**Tell your healthcare provider if you:**

- have ever had a severe skin rash or an allergic reaction to medicines that contain dolutegravir or rilpivirine.
- have or have had liver problems, including hepatitis B or C infection.
- have ever had a mental health problem.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. One of the medicines in JULUCA, called dolutegravir, may harm your unborn baby.
  - **You should not take JULUCA at the time of becoming pregnant or during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.** Your healthcare provider may change your medicine during this time in your pregnancy.
  - If you can become pregnant, your healthcare provider will perform a pregnancy test before you start treatment with JULUCA, and you should consistently use effective birth control (contraception) during treatment with JULUCA.
  - Tell your healthcare provider right away if you are planning to become pregnant, you become pregnant, or think you may be pregnant during treatment with JULUCA.

#### Before taking JULUCA (cont'd)

**Tell your healthcare provider if you (cont'd):**

- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. **Do not breastfeed if you take JULUCA.** You should not breastfeed if you have HIV-1 because of the risk of passing HIV-1 to your baby. It is not known if JULUCA can pass to your baby in your breast milk. Talk with your healthcare provider about the best way to feed your baby.

**Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take:**

- Keep a list that includes all prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements, and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist.
- Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist about medicines that should not be taken with JULUCA.
- Do not start taking a new medicine without telling your healthcare provider.

#### Possible side effects of JULUCA

**JULUCA can cause serious side effects, including:**

- **Severe skin rash and allergic reactions.** Call your healthcare provider right away if you develop a rash with JULUCA. **Stop taking JULUCA and get medical help right away if you develop a rash with any of the following signs or symptoms:** fever; generally ill feeling; tiredness; muscle or joint aches; blisters or sores in mouth; blisters or peeling of the skin; redness or swelling of the eyes; swelling of the mouth, face, lips, or tongue; problems breathing.
- **Liver problems.** People with a history of hepatitis B or C virus who have certain liver function test changes may have an increased risk of developing new or worsening changes in certain liver tests during treatment with JULUCA. Liver problems, including liver failure, have also happened in people without history of liver disease or other risk factors. Your healthcare provider may do blood tests to check your liver function. **Call your healthcare provider right away if you develop any of the following signs or symptoms of liver problems:** your skin or the white part of your eyes turns yellow (jaundice); dark or "tea-colored" urine; light-colored stools (bowel movements); nausea or vomiting; loss of appetite; pain, aching, or tenderness on the right side of your stomach area.
- **Depression or mood changes.** Tell your healthcare provider right away or get medical help if you have any of the following symptoms: feeling sad or hopeless; feeling anxious or restless; have thoughts of hurting yourself (suicide) or have tried to hurt yourself.
- **The most common side effects of JULUCA include:** diarrhea and headache.

These are not all the possible side effects of JULUCA.

Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have any new symptoms while taking JULUCA. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

#### Get more information

- This is only a brief summary of important information about JULUCA. Talk to your healthcare provider or pharmacist to learn more.
- Go to JULUCA.com or call 1-877-844-8872, where you can also get FDA-approved labeling.



For information on access and coverage to help you get your ViiV Healthcare medications  
Insured \* Underinsured \* Uninsured



Phone: 1-844-588-3288 (toll-free)  
Monday-Friday, 8AM-8PM (ET)



Online: [www.viivconnect.com](http://www.viivconnect.com)



My doctor and I are proud  
of how far I've come.  
Now, I want to ask about  
**staying undetectable with  
fewer medicines in my HIV pill.**

**Rodney<sup>†</sup>**  
Undetectable  
since 2008

I started treating my HIV and reached an undetectable  
viral load. And whenever I become aware of  
other treatment options, I talk to my doctor.  
Here's what I learned about JULUCA:

dolutegravir



rilpivirine

JULUCA is the only once-daily complete HIV-1  
regimen that combines 2 medicines in just 1 pill.

**Ask your doctor about JULUCA.**

Learn more at **JULUCA.com**

<sup>†</sup>Rodney is a real patient with HIV paid by ViiV Healthcare.



ViiV Healthcare  
Research Triangle Park, NC 27709

Trademark is owned by or licensed to the ViiV Healthcare  
group of companies.

©2018 ViiV Healthcare group of companies or its licensor.  
September 2018 JLC:3PIL

©2018 ViiV Healthcare group of companies or its licensor.  
Printed in USA. 1009001R0 October 2018

 **Juluca**  
dolutegravir 50 mg/  
rilpivirine 25 mg tablets



Politics

# THE STATE OF THE





NUCLEAR TREATIES

ECONOMY

RUSSIA PROBE

BORDER

UNION

PRESIDENCY

IMPEACHMENT

2020 ELECTION

SYRIAN WAR

SHUTDOWN

**STUCK ON  
THE WALL,  
TRUMP FACES  
HIS BIGGEST  
TEST YET**

**By Brian  
Bennett**



## THE STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH IS ONE OF THE MOST EXTRAVAGANT PORTRAITS OF AMERICAN POWER. REplete WITH PAGEENTRY, TENS OF MILLIONS OF TELEVISION VIEWERS, A CHAMBER CRAMMED WITH DIGNITARIES

and Donald Trump at the center of the shot—is it any wonder the annual address is one of the few Washington rituals the President relishes?

But there was a new face in the frame when Trump stepped onto the rostrum on Feb. 5. Just over his left shoulder sat House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who has outmaneuvered Trump since she retook the gavel in January. On the House floor in front of him sat dozens of female legislators dressed in white, a suffragist homage and a stark reminder of both the drubbing he took in the November midterms and the investigations those Democrats will pursue over the next two years.

That power shift, visible to all, is particularly dangerous for Trump. His political brand is built on dominance and rooted in the strength he projects to his supporters. The new reality in Washington challenges both. The President's legislative agenda appears dead in the water, and his approval ratings have dropped. Polls show voters blame Trump for the 35-day government shutdown he triggered, oppose his border-wall demands and place more faith in Democrats when it comes to the President's signature issue of border security.

Which may help explain the signs that Trump's grip on the GOP is starting to slacken. Trump alienated supporters by reopening the government without securing funding for the wall. And in recent months, Senate Republicans have increasingly defied him. "There is certainly an increased willingness to challenge some of the President's more dissonant foreign-policy positions," says former Arizona Senator Jeff Flake, who has frequently criticized Trump.

Just how much power Trump retains will be tested in the coming days. If lawmakers don't meet his Feb. 15 deadline to deliver more than \$5 billion in border-wall funding, Trump has vowed to shut down the government again or use the Executive Branch's emergency powers to build the barrier on his own authority. Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell has warned that either step would escalate Trump's

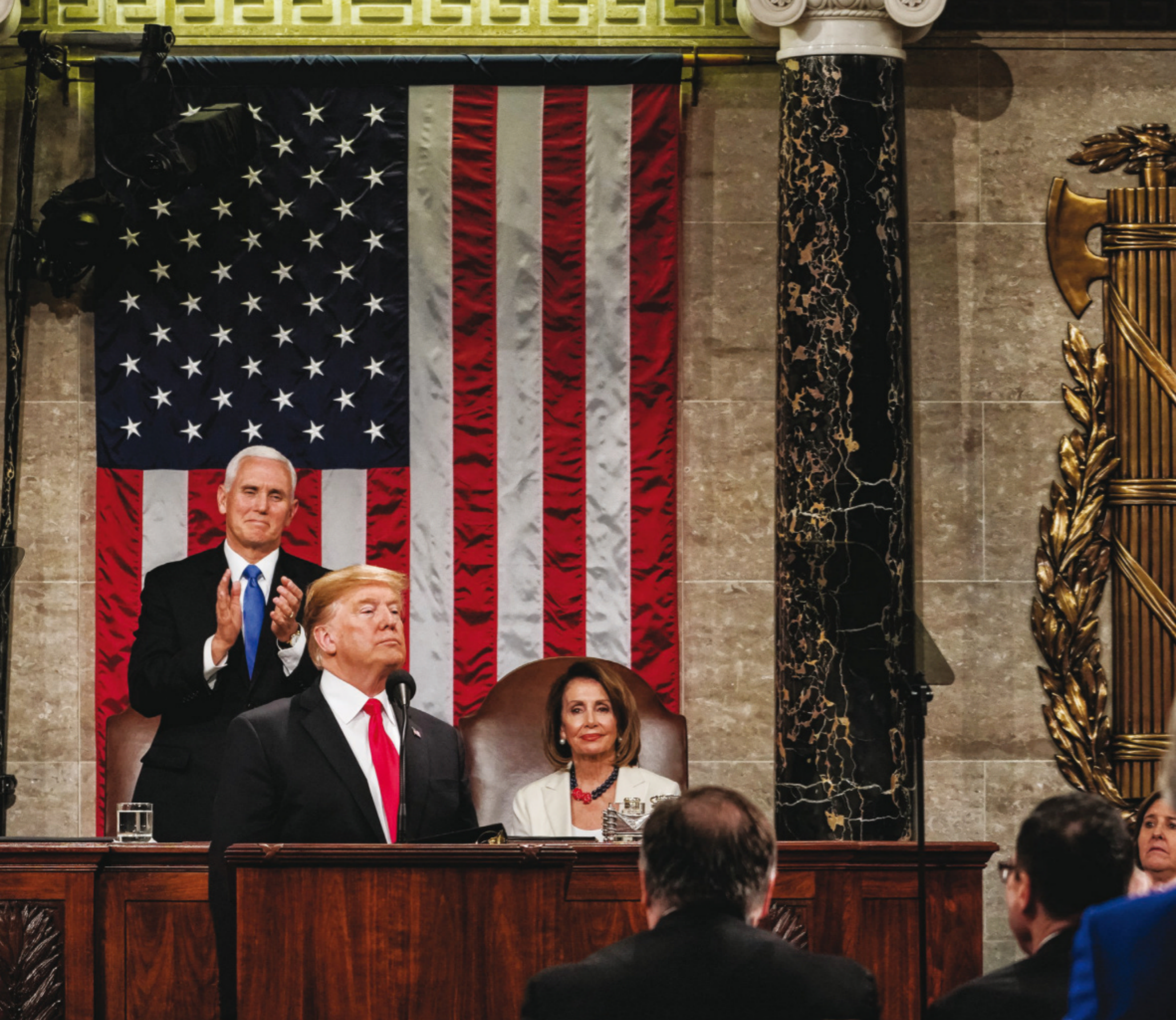
tensions with Senate Republicans.

That leaves Trump in a dilemma. He knows how important it is to his supporters that he fight to deliver his signature campaign promise to build the wall. But getting in a scrap with GOP Senators carries its own risks: they are his bulwark against Pelosi and the House, not least because the Democrats could take the extraordinary step of beginning impeachment proceedings this year. "It's the defining moment of his presidency," says Steve Bannon, Trump's former chief White House strategist.

Bannon thinks Trump should start construction on the wall without Congress and ignore concerns in the Senate about Trump's plans to withdraw troops from Syria and Afghanistan. Trump's







more moderate aides, including his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, counsel compromise, according to one White House adviser.

That, however, would require something Trump has shown little ability to do: adapt his style to the demands of the job. Which is why the next few weeks are a key test not just for Trump's presidency but also for the President himself.

**THERE WERE SIGNS** at the State of the Union that Trump is trying to reset. The tone of much of the speech was conciliatory, with soaring appeals for unity, calls for bipartisan actions like infrastructure reform and lowering prescription drug prices, and a nod to the bipartisan criminal-justice law he signed

in December. "We can make our communities safer, our families stronger, our culture richer, our faith deeper, and our middle class bigger and more prosperous than ever before," Trump told the packed chamber. "But we must reject the politics of revenge, resistance and retribution—and embrace the boundless potential of cooperation, compromise and the common good."

Other Presidents have pivoted to the center after midterm-election losses. When President Bill Clinton's party lost the House during his second year in office, Clinton "revised his approach to governing," says Russell Riley, co-chair of the presidential oral-history program at the University of Virginia's Miller Center. Clinton worked with then House

^  
*President Trump  
faced a newly  
empowered  
Democratic  
opposition when  
he delivered  
the State of the  
Union address  
at the Capitol  
on Feb. 5*



Speaker Newt Gingrich on sweeping welfare reform and a balanced budget—issues Clinton then successfully ran on in his 1996 re-election campaign.

Trump is more comfortable using his bully pulpit to incite supporters than to persuade skeptics. This may be his last chance to adjust. An NPR/PBS *NewsHour*/Marist survey conducted in mid-January found that Trump's net approval rating had dropped 7 points since December, to 39%. Support among key portions of Trump's base eroded, including a net decline of 18 percentage points among suburban men and a net decline of 13 points among white evangelicals. A Quinnipiac University national poll released Jan. 29 found that U.S. voters trust Democrats in Congress more than Trump by 50% to 41% on the issue of border security.

Trump has insisted on pressing for the wall funding, at the expense of other policy priorities. "He wants to address what we face immediately, which is the humanitarian crisis and the national-security crisis along the southern border," says White House principal deputy press secretary Hogan Gidley. "Once we do that, there are broader discussions to have" about immigration reform, infrastructure and drug pricing.

But Trump's threat to act on his own has alarmed Republicans. At a GOP Senate lunch on Jan. 29, some members of the President's party told one another that they could not stand by and let Trump end-run Congress to build his border wall, according to several participants. If they allowed President Trump to invoke a national emergency on the border in 2019, some have said, how could they stop a Democratic President like, say, Senator Elizabeth Warren from declaring one in the financial sector in 2021, using the same power play to impose costly safeguards on banks?

With GOP defections all but guaranteed, the No. 2 Republican in the Senate, John Thune, urged lawmakers to call Trump aides and warn them there were

likely the 51 votes needed to oppose an emergency declaration. McConnell has been sending a similar message to Trump himself. In his conversations with the President, McConnell raised polling data showing cratering support for Trump's handling of border security, officials familiar with the conversations tell TIME.

Trump's problems with his own party have been spreading to other issues since the November 2018 midterms. In December, seven GOP Senators joined with Democrats in calling for the U.S. to withdraw military assistance to Saudi Arabia's war in Yemen. The same day, the chamber unanimously passed a resolution rebuking Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia for the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, even as Trump defended his Gulf ally.

On Jan. 29, McConnell proposed an amendment expressing disapproval of Trump's planned troop withdrawals in Syria and Afghanistan. It passed on Feb. 4 with the support of all but four Republicans; three Republicans did not vote. The defections prompted Trump to complain in private about the lack of lockstep loyalty, according to a person familiar with Trump's reaction.

Some Republicans on Capitol Hill insist there's no real rift with the White House. "The tent is big enough for some disagreement," says GOP Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina. "Clearly there are some Senators who disagree with the President," says Louisiana Senator John Kennedy. "But do I think the Senate passing a resolution [opposing Trump's troop withdrawals] is going to have any impact on what he does? No."

On the issue of the moment, the Feb. 15 spending deadline, one way out would be for Trump to accept a deal that boosts border-security spending without funding a wall. "If he can get a bill enacted that truly does strengthen the border, then he will be able to sell that to his base without having an actual 2,000-mile-long physical wall," says

Whit Ayres, a GOP consultant at North Star Opinion Research. "The key is making the border more secure."

**TRUMP HAS SURVIVED** tough times before. As a businessman, he bounced back from serial bankruptcies and crushing debt. As a presidential candidate, he was written off by the Republican establishment in the weeks before Election Day, then went on to shock the nation with a dramatic victory. He did it with the same formula that he has relied on as President: the instinct to improvise, fight back, belittle his opponents and bend the truth to suit his needs.

But the stakes are higher now. Trump faces determined congressional investigators, multiple criminal probes and special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation. At the end of February he will hold a second high-stakes summit with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un. His trade negotiations with China aren't going well, and his talks with the Taliban over leaving Afghanistan risk ending America's 17-year war there with a hard-to-hide defeat.

Failure on any one of those fronts will make the others that much harder, and friends say Trump is feeling the pressure. "I think he realizes how important it is to get a win out of this, how important it is not to lose," says conservative TV host Eric Bolling, who regularly talks to Trump. That's doubly true for a man whose political worldview contains only winners and losers, with no room for compromise.

Trump's moderate advisers may hope that at this most precarious moment he will show himself capable of growing, of learning and adapting to the realities of the job. Other Presidents have been defined by their ability to do just that. And during his State of the Union speech, Trump seemed to be vacillating between comity and provocation, struggling to find his way to a different kind of presidency, one more suited to the new division of power in the capital.

The hard truth in Washington now, though, is even that unlikely transformation may not be enough to salvage his presidency. Soon enough the same august chamber will provide the setting for grueling congressional investigations, and possibly even impeachment. —*With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON, TESSA BERENSON and PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON □

**'HE  
REALIZES  
HOW  
IMPORTANT  
IT IS TO  
GET A WIN  
OUT OF  
THIS,  
HOW  
IMPORTANT  
IT IS NOT  
TO LOSE.'**

ERIC BOLLING,  
a BlazeTV host  
who speaks  
with Trump  
regularly



# Pet insurance for your **busy** tonight 'cause it's my dog's **birthday** side.

Because priorities.

Coverage for pet people  
by pet people. Get a quote today.  
[petinsurance.com](https://petinsurance.com) • 855-630-7063

**For your many sides, there's Nationwide.®**  
insurance | investments | retirement



Underwritten by Veterinary Pet Insurance Company (CA), Columbus, OH, an A.M. Best A+ rated company (2017); National Casualty Company (all other states), Columbus, OH, an A.M. Best A+ rated company (2017). Agency of Record: DVM Insurance Agency. Nationwide, the Nationwide N and Eagle, and Nationwide is on your side are service marks of Nationwide Mutual Insurance Company. ©2018 Nationwide. 18CON5733f



NATIONAL SECURITY

# 'WILLFUL IGNORANCE.' INSIDE PRESIDENT TRUMP'S TROUBLED INTELLIGENCE BRIEFINGS

By John Walcott

FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS, THE ELITE CORE OF intelligence professionals stayed silent. But faced with President Donald Trump's renewed attacks on America's top spymasters and mounting security challenges around the globe, senior intelligence briefers recently took the extraordinary step of revealing their stories to TIME. Their warning: the President is endangering U.S. security with what they say is a stubborn disregard for their assessments.

These intelligence officials say Trump displays what one called "willful ignorance" when presented with analyses generated by America's \$81 billion-a-year intelligence services. The officials, who include analysts who prepare Trump's briefs and the briefers themselves, describe futile attempts to keep his attention by using visual aids, confining some briefing points to two or three sentences and repeating his name and title as frequently as possible.

Most troubling, say these officials and others in government and on Capitol Hill who have been briefed on the episodes, are Trump's angry reactions when he is given information that contradicts positions he has taken or beliefs he holds. Two intelligence officials even say that they

have been warned to avoid giving the President assessments that contradict stances he has taken in public.

That reaction was on display in the last week of January. At a congressional hearing on national-security threats, the leaders of the major intelligence agencies—including the Directors of National Intelligence, the CIA and the FBI—contradicted Trump on issues relating to North Korea, Russia, the Islamic State and Iran. In response, Trump said the intelligence chiefs were "passive and naive" and suggested they "should go back to school."

The intelligence officials who spoke to TIME about Trump requested anonymity to disclose his habits because the briefings they described, including the President's Daily Brief, or PDB, are classified. The PDB is one of the most highly restricted analyses produced by U.S. intelligence analysts. A select group of intelligence officials is involved in preparing these briefings. A small number of senior officials, often including the Director of Central Intelligence, Director of National Intelligence or the heads of other agencies depending on the topic, usually deliver it.

The reporting for this story is based on interviews with multiple officials who have firsthand knowledge of the episodes they describe, and multiple others who have been briefed on

U.S. intelligence chiefs testify at a Senate committee hearing on Jan. 29







them. Asked in detail about the officials' concerns, senior White House and National Security Council officials declined to comment.

**THE PROBLEM HAS EXISTED** since the beginning of Trump's presidency, the intelligence officials say, and for a time they tried to respond to the President's behavior in briefings with dark humor. After a briefing in preparation for a meeting with British Prime Minister Theresa May, for example, the subject turned to the British Indian Ocean Territory of Diego Garcia. The island is home to an important air base and a U.S. Naval Support Facility that are central to America's ability to project power in the region, including in the war in Afghanistan.

The President, officials familiar with the briefing said, asked two questions: Are the people nice, and are the beaches good? "Some of us wondered if he was thinking about our alliance with the Brits and the security issues in an important area where the Chinese have been increasingly active, or whether he was thinking like a real estate developer," one of the officials said wryly.

In another briefing on South Asia, Trump's advisers brought a map of the region from Afghanistan to Bangladesh, according to intelligence officers with knowledge of the meeting and congressional officials who were briefed on it. Trump, they said, pointed at the map and said he

**TWO  
INTELLIGENCE  
OFFICIALS SAY  
THEY HAVE  
BEEN WARNED  
TO AVOID  
GIVING THE  
PRESIDENT  
ASSESSMENTS  
THAT  
CONTRADICT  
STANCES  
HE HAS TAKEN  
IN PUBLIC**

knew that Nepal was part of India, only to be told that it is an independent nation. When Trump said he was familiar with Bhutan and knew it, too, was part of India, his briefers told him that Bhutan was an independent kingdom. Last August, Politico reported on the President's mispronunciation of the names of those countries during the same briefing.

But the disconnect between Trump and his intelligence briefers is no joke, the officials say. Several pointed to concerns regarding Trump's assessment of the threat posed by North Korea's nuclear capabilities. After Trump's summit with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un last summer, the North claimed to have destroyed its major underground nuclear testing facility at Punggye-ri, and Trump has gone out of his way to credit the claim.

The National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA), which oversees the spy satellites that map and photograph key areas, had tried to impress upon Trump the size and complexity of the North Korean site. In preparing one briefing for the President on the issue early in his Administration, the NGA built a model of the facility with a removable roof, according to two officials. To help Trump grasp its size, the NGA briefers built a miniature version of New York's Statue of Liberty to scale and put it inside the model.

Intelligence officials from multiple agencies later warned Trump that entrances at the facility that had been closed after the summit could still be reopened. But the President has ignored the agencies' warnings and has exaggerated the steps North Korea has taken to shutter the facility, those officials and two others say. That is a particular concern now, ahead of a second summit with Kim Jong Un that is scheduled for Feb. 27–28.

The briefers' concerns are spread across many areas of expertise. Two briefers worry that a summit with Chinese President Xi Jinping later this year could produce a trade agreement that the President can trumpet but that fails to address China's espionage, its theft of intellectual property ranging from circuit boards to soybean hybrids, its military buildup and its geopolitical ambition.

Three other officials worry about what one of them calls "precipitous troop withdrawals" from Syria and Afghanistan and a peace deal with the Taliban that in time could leave the extremist Islamic group back in charge and wipe out the gains made in education, women's rights and governance since the invasion of Afghanistan more than 17 years ago.

The briefers are heartened by the intelligence community leaders who risked Trump's ire by contradicting him in public testimony. But they are worried about what lies ahead. The danger, one former official said, is that those leaders and other intelligence briefers may eventually stop taking such risks in laying out the facts for the President. □



World

# VENEZUELA'S CROSSROADS

A nation searches for a way out  
of catastrophe By Ciara Nugent





<  
*Juan Guaidó, declared  
interim President of  
Venezuela by parliament,  
salutes supporters at  
a rally in the capital,  
Caracas, on Feb. 3*

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
LEO ALVAREZ





T

WO MEN CLAIM TO BE THE President of Venezuela, which has the largest oil reserves on the planet and so little food that in a single year the average citizen lost 24 lb. One, Nicolás Maduro, secured a second term in a 2018 election widely regarded as a sham. The other, Juan Guaidó, took an oath of office on Jan. 23, in a maneuver that was equal parts audacious and ingenious

and that offered the nation at least the possibility of a peaceful way out of its catastrophe.

The trick was finding a possible opening in the mire of Maduro's authoritarianism. By fiat and force, Maduro has spent the past few years remaking the Caracas government to his liking—replacing justices on the Supreme Court, declaring emergency rule and sidelining the parliament that the opposition had won in a free and fair ballot in 2015. Maduro also created from whole cloth the electoral apparatus that allowed him to remain in office without facing an opponent—a violation of the country's 1999 constitution. In response, the leader of parliament—Guaidó—said the presidential office had essentially been left vacant in January, the start of Maduro's rigged second term. He then invoked the constitution's Article 233, which, in a power vacuum, calls for the person in his role to temporarily assume the presidency.

He was not acting alone. In the days that followed, most Latin American countries, the U.S. and much of Western Europe recognized Guaidó as the legitimate leader of the most troubled country in the hemisphere and mounted intense economic and diplomatic pressure on Maduro to step down. In Caracas, massive public demonstrations gathered to support the 35-year-old.

By uniting a divided opposition, Guaidó appears to have given Venezuela its first real chance to restore democracy since its socialist experiment collapsed into economic chaos in 2014. "The difference now is there's absolute hope," he told *TIME* a week after the ceremony, his voice hoarse from days of campaigning. "Despair, disillusionment and frustration have become energy, strength, a determination to fight."

But the fight won't be easy. Venezuela's powerful military stands in the opposition's way, so far refusing to withdraw its support for the regime. Even as Maduro has driven his country's collapse and caused the worst refugee crisis in the western hemisphere—3 million Venezuelans have fled—he has carefully insulated himself from removal. With widespread corruption and organized crime among the military and political elite a fact of political life for years, the regime has built a power structure designed to ensure the status quo at all costs. "We're not talking about a conventional ideological dictatorship," says Alejandro Rebolledo, a Venezuelan lawyer specializing in organized crime, who was forced into exile in Miami in 2017. "We are talking about a mafia state."



**THE FOUNDATIONS OF TODAY'S CRISIS**, and of Maduro's power, were laid two decades ago, when socialist Hugo Chávez was elected in 1998 on a pledge to eliminate poverty. He delivered, for a time, using vast oil revenues from the state oil company, PDVSA, to fund wide-ranging welfare schemes, including free education and subsidized utilities.

But the generosity went hand in hand with corruption. Chávez gifted key power positions to his allies, including many military figures, in an effort to shore up support. When strikes against his cronyism led to an economic crisis in 2002, he imposed currency controls, pegging Venezuela's bolivar to the dollar and effectively allowing the government to pick and choose who could buy foreign

**'We're not talking about a conventional dictatorship. We are talking about a mafia state.'**

—ALEJANDRO REBOLLEDO,  
a Venezuelan lawyer in exile in Miami





### ^ Clinging to power

President Nicolás Maduro attends a military ceremony in Caracas on Feb. 4; the military still backs Maduro

exchange and import goods. Like other Venezuelan leaders before him, Chávez also failed to put aside much oil money for leaner times. “Oil revenue was never seen as a tool for development,” says Raúl Gallegos, a political analyst and the author of *Crude Nation: How Oil Riches Ruined Venezuela*. “It was money to be

spent immediately, throwing a big national party to make everyone support the government.”

The party ended in 2014, when a drop in the global oil price sent revenues tumbling. It was a year after Chávez died and Maduro, his chosen successor, had taken the reins. Currency controls hampered recovery, causing cash shortages and unprecedented hyperinflation, which is set to top 10,000,000% in 2019. Since Maduro came to power, parliament figures show Venezuela’s economy has contracted 53%.

Maduro blames the chaos on the U.S., a reliable bogeyman in Latin American politics, given Washington’s long history of interference in the region. As his popularity

plummeted, Maduro clamped down on political opposition. Security forces have killed hundreds in protests. Nearly 300 political prisoners are behind bars.

Life for ordinary Venezuelans has become an ordeal. “We’ve lost our quality of life,” Guaidó says. Nine out of 10 families can’t afford enough food. Violence has spiked. A tenth of the population has fled the country. Women sell their hair at the Colombian border for cash to continue their journey.

But not everyone is suffering. Determined to buy loyalty, Maduro has granted the 160,000-strong military unprecedented freedom to engage in illicit moneymaking schemes. Parliament estimates that friends of the government have stolen at least \$350 billion from public bodies in recent years. Investigations show that high-ranking members of the military are involved in drug trafficking and fuel smuggling. (Maduro denies any criminal wrongdoing.) “The levels of crime in Venezuela in the last few years have been unimaginable—higher than I can remember in any other case in recent history,” says Luis Almagro, secretary-general of the Organization of American States. “There will be money laundered in every Latin American country.”

The military also controls key state enterprises. U.S. prosecutors are investigating military commanders and other government officials for allegedly siphoning money out of national food programs, even as five children die every week of malnutrition. Lower ranks take a cut during distribution, selling goods on the black market. “The programs to import food are designed to allow high levels of corruption,” says opposition lawmaker Carlos Paparoni.

In 2017, Maduro handed leadership of PDVSA to a general, allegedly in a “crusade” against corruption by former executives. “It was to ensure the military’s loyalty,” says Gallegos. “It remains an extremely corrupt organization, and these people don’t even have the knowledge to run an oil industry.” In two years, under-investment in equipment and lack of expertise have halved production to 1.1 million barrels per day—the lowest it has been for almost 70 years.

**ALL THE WHILE**, Venezuela’s powerful military counter-intelligence service, DGCIM, has kept close tabs on the armed forces, monitoring for signs of dissent and quickly putting down small-scale rebellions. On Jan. 21, 27 members of the national guard, the branch charged with containing domestic unrest, tried to start an uprising. The opposition says they are being tortured in the basements of the intelligence agency. The military does not just fear losing influence, says Diego Moya-Ocampos, a Venezuela analyst at IHS Markit. It also worries about being crushed for rebelling, or facing punishment if there is regime change. “They know that if Maduro falls, they all fall.”

The opposition is promising amnesty for those in the regime who help restore democracy. Guaidó has asked the public to print out the amnesty law from the parliament website and approach soldiers with a copy. He claims that he has held clandestine meetings with members of



the military and that Maduro's grip is weakening as the life they enjoyed under him starts to collapse. "There are fewer and fewer of those benefits," Guaidó says. "The mafia structure they have built is crumbling."

The oil industry contributes 90% of Venezuela's government revenue. The U.S. buys almost half of Venezuela's oil, and sanctions on PDVSA imposed by the Trump Administration on Feb. 4 are expected to cripple the already beleaguered company. U.S. refineries can't buy Venezuelan crude unless they pay money into bank accounts unrelated to Maduro, whom U.S. officials now refer to as "the former President." "We're cornering the regime now," says Rebolledo, the Venezuelan lawyer.

But the regime still has powerful allies. Russia and China, which have each lent and invested billions of dollars in Maduro's government, are continuing to support him. Turkey continues to buy Venezuela's gold. Gallegos, the political analyst, says those allies could feasibly step in to take over Venezuelan oil fields once U.S. companies are forced to pack up and leave in six months' time under the sanctions.

Inside Venezuela, the opposition is focusing on leading daily street protests, seen as essential to pressuring the military to switch sides. They are sometimes met with smaller counter-demonstrations by Maduro supporters. "The military as a whole is still behind Maduro, but if the demonstrations continue or become overwhelming, that could cause a break in the chain of command," says Moya-Ocampos. On Feb. 2, a high-ranking air force general defected in a video shared on social media, claiming, "Ninety percent of the armed forces are not with the dictator." The same day, protesters in the state of Lara captured footage of police in riot gear standing back to allow people to pass, suggesting resolve is weakening in some parts of the security forces.

A key test of the military's loyalty is now approaching. National Security Adviser John Bolton said on Feb. 2 that the U.S. is sending humanitarian aid at Guaidó's request. Trucks containing food and other supplies are expected to arrive at

## 'No one is willing to sacrifice themselves for Maduro or take up arms to fight for him.'

JUAN GUAIDÓ, Venezuelan parliament leader



### Pushing for change

*Guaidó poses on Feb. 5 in his office in the legislative palace, where he serves as head of parliament*

the Colombian border city of Cúcuta in mid-February, says Moya-Ocampos. "The question is, Will they allow the aid in, with any foreign officials escorting it, or will they block it?"

**THE LARGER QUESTION** is whether the U.S. will send troops. President Trump and Guaidó have refused to rule out

a U.S. military intervention, which Guaidó calls a last resort. Many in the international community fear violent confrontation is inevitable. "It all depends on the madness and aggression of the northern empire and its Western allies," Maduro told a Spanish journalist, summoning the specter of Yankee imperialism. "We're demanding that no one intervene in our internal matters, and we're preparing to defend our country."

Guaidó insists Venezuela can find a peaceful way forward, without foreign military intervention and without the civil war some fear. "No one is willing to sacrifice themselves for Maduro or take up arms to fight for him," he says. "Increasingly, the obvious choice is to put it all aside." Guaidó has a three-pronged plan: first, remove Maduro from the presidency; second, establish a transitional government; and third, call free and fair elections.





However the next few weeks and months unravel, Venezuelans have a long road to restore their country and way of life. The nation's natural resources have been ransacked, its industries crippled and its institutions corroded, says Rebolledo. "We don't only need a change of government. We need to rebuild our state." Almagro of the OAS says foreign governments will need to put investigators to work on repatriating some of the dirty money that has bled out of the country in recent years.

But before they can look to the future, Venezuelans are looking to Guaidó. As he spends his days weaving through Caracas, rushing from protest to parliament session to strategy meeting, and dodging the latent threat of arrest, he seems unfazed. "There's certainty that we are going to change things," he says. "That energy is a very powerful motor." □

ANDREA HERNANDEZ FOR TIME

#### VIEWPOINT

## History haunts America's military options

By James Stavridis

If there were ever a case illustrating Karl Marx's comment that history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as farce, it was the turnover between Venezuelan Presidents Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro. Following Chávez's demolition of the nation's oil industry, Maduro further destroyed the economy and, in the eyes of the West, ham-handedly stole the 2018 presidential election.

It is clearly time for Maduro to go. But as the U.S. condemns his regime and instead supports the presidency claim of Juan Guaidó, it should be cautious. Even though Maduro is repressing the population and rounding up opponents, a full-blown intervention by the U.S. would foment rage in the region and internationally.

Everywhere I went as a four-star admiral in the region while leading U.S. Southern Command, I was reminded of America's militant past. In 2008, we created the Navy's Fourth Fleet, intending to use it primarily for disaster relief, humanitarian operations, medical diplomacy and counter-narcotics in the Americas. But from Brasília to Havana, the negative replies were stunning. Even the Colombian Minister of Defense (and later President) Juan Manuel Santos—my best friend and partner in the region—counseled me against the initiative. Too many people there truly felt that a new fleet would mean a return to gunboat diplomacy and a prelude to military action. Good intentions do not make old ghosts disappear.

America's best set of options today begin, therefore, with working assiduously with our allies, partners and friends—especially those in the region—to resolve the instability and economic disaster in Venezuela peacefully. We should levy even stronger sanctions on Venezuelan oil exports than the Trump Administration has so far; push every democratic nation globally to recognize Guaidó as acting

President; call for new elections within 60 days; offer an amnesty deal to Maduro and his leading clique (like beautiful beachside casas in Havana or a nice finca in Nicaragua); warn the Chinese and Russians, two Maduro backers with heft at the U.N., that we are very serious in believing it will be better for everyone if Maduro goes; and rally support from the Organization of American States to avoid the wrong impression of unilateral American influence. All talks could also be done outside of Venezuela, much as the negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC insurgency were moved to Havana earlier this decade.

## Good intentions do not make old ghosts disappear

Crises have a way of escalating, and there may come a time when an international peacekeeping force or other military options might be needed. But this is still a time for communiqués, not carrier battle groups. The Administration has handled this first significant regional crisis in the Americas with a fairly deft hand, by using economic, political and diplomatic tools. It should continue to ratchet up the pressure and gather the allies to our side.

For now, we are best served by backing the brave Venezuelans fighting the Maduro regime through the overall efforts of the international community. As Simón Bolívar, the liberator of Venezuela and a revered figure there, said, "When tyranny becomes law, rebellion is a right."

—  
*Admiral Stavridis (ret.) was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander at NATO and is an operating executive at the Carlyle Group*





World

# THE GRAY WAVE SET TO CRASH INTO CHINA



**By 2029, China's population will age  
into "unstoppable" decline.  
The country may face no greater threat**

**BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL/HAINAN ISLAND**



*Li An Xiao, 85, and  
his wife swim with  
friends on Hainan  
Island, known as  
China's Florida*

PHOTOGRAPHS  
BY SIM CHI YIN  
FOR TIME







## A passing typhoon has just tickled southern China's Hainan Island, churning the sea into angry peaks. One glance is enough for Li An Xiao and Zhao Zhi Ping to cancel their customary 7 a.m. swim, the kind of unspoken agreement that comes with half a century of happy marriage.

Instead, they join dozens of other retirees performing calisthenics at the adjacent exercise park, where one silver-haired gent nonchalantly hangs upside down from the monkey bars.

Li was once a hydro-engineer in China's arid northwestern province of Gansu. Today, the 85-year-old is enjoying a leisurely retirement with Zhao, 75, on the volcanic island that is Asia's closest equivalent to Florida. Lunch at noon, a 3 p.m. dip in their apartment complex's hot tub, perhaps a nap and, typhoon permitting, back to the beach for a sunset swim. "We love it here," he says. "Just look at all the trees and flowers! The sea air means we've never felt healthier."

An estimated 1.5 million retired snowbirds flock to Hainan from China's frigid northern provinces every winter, and if current trends continue, the migratory pattern is set to expand rapidly. By 2050, 330 million Chinese will be over age 65. Good news perhaps for property owners in Hainan, but dire news for the prospects of the world's second largest economy—and for those around the world who rely on it. "It's the No. 1 economic problem for China going forward," says Stuart Leckie, chairman of Stirling Finance Ltd., a Hong Kong-based pension-fund consulting firm that has advised the Chinese government.

If current trends continue, China's population will peak at 1.44 billion in 2029 before entering

### AGING WORLD

## 28%

The share of Japan's population expected to be of working age in 2050

## 20%

The share of Americans who will be of retirement age by 2030, outnumbering children for the first time in U.S. history



"unstoppable" decline, according to a Chinese Academy of Social Sciences study released in January. The country will enter an "era of negative population growth," the report says, warning that by 2065 numbers will return to the levels of the mid-1990s. Fewer people means less domestic consumption, and thus rapidly slowing economic growth. The ratio of young to old will be dramatically imbalanced by the rising ranks of the elderly, putting unprecedented weight on the ties that hold society together.

The scale of the problem is partly due to the legacy of the one-child policy: history's biggest social-engineering experiment. Introduced in 1980 to reduce the number of hungry mouths to feed, the policy eventually began to act as a hitch on growth, prompting Beijing to permit parents to have two children from 2016. The policy now stands to be scrapped, with a draft civil code published in August 2018 omitting any reference to "family planning."

But reforming the much maligned birth controls





has so far done little to defuse China's ticking demographic time bomb. After an 8% bump in 2016—mainly women who'd waited for years to have a second child—births then fell 3.5% the following year. The trend is being exacerbated by China's entry into the "middle income trap," where rapidly developing economies stagnate as incomes reach median level and the emerging middle class start having fewer babies. Just like in the West, many Chinese women are prioritizing careers and stable home life over raising children, especially as the costs of living and education soar.

It's a pattern seen across the developing world. In just 20 years' time, Africa stands to be the last remaining font of major population growth, as families in Europe, the Americas and across Asia have fewer children. The latest projections suggest the global population will peak at 9 billion around 2090 and then dip southward. The trend is particularly acute in East Asia; in South Korea, the birth rate dropped to a record peacetime low of 0.95 births per

■  
Ma Ying, 30,  
says she and  
her husband  
would prefer  
to raise their  
daughter  
Sang  
Tianyi, 3, as  
an only child

woman last year (2.1 births are required to maintain a population), as economic growth slowed. Japan's current population of 127 million will shrink to 83 million by 2100, according to U.N. data, when over a third of its population will be over 65. Already, more adult diapers are sold in Japan than infant ones.

But China, whose extraordinary economic heft has been built on labor-intensive manufacturing and which has no social safety net to protect the aged, is uniquely ill-prepared for the societal changes this gray wave will bring. All signs suggest the country will get old before it gets rich—and the impact is already making itself felt.

**LI AND ZHAO'S RETIREMENT** on the teardrop-shaped island of Hainan isn't lavish, but it is comfortable. The pair live in a one-bedroom apartment which has quadrupled in value since they bought it in 2007. Their combined monthly pensions—Zhao worked as an accountant in the same state-owned firm as Li—amount to 8,000 renminbi (\$1,200). It's enough to keep them happy and healthy.

They are among the lucky ones. Many seniors in China reach retirement age without having obtained the necessary capital to fund their pensions, health care and lifestyle. According to a 2013 study by Peking University, only 3% of respondents had a commercial pension and 0.2% a private occupational pension issued by a private employer. Instead, the cost of elderly care is borne by families and the state—effectively shunted to the next generation of workers. As in many Western countries, the shrinking population means fewer young taxpayers are available to prop up an older generation that is living for an unprecedentedly long time.

Until recently the aim was to keep birth rates down in China, but the state has performed a dramatic U-turn in anticipation of a graying population. Propaganda now exhorts couples to "have children for the country." Women are vigorously discouraged to delay marriage for career, with the derisive label *shengnu*, or "leftover women," given to unmarried women over 27. Abortions, once widely available, are beginning to be controlled. Last August, a proposal by two Nanjing University professors to have adults with fewer than two children pay into a "procreation fund" to subsidize larger families sparked a fierce backlash on social media.

It might seem mercenary, but in China children are most people's retirement package: a nest egg expected to provide for parents in old age. Sang Tianyi started kindergarten at just 1 year and 8 months old. Now 3, she attends classes from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. every day. On weekends, she's taken to one of Beijing's leviathan shopping malls for a dizzying diet of extracurricular activities: swimming, painting, music, English. Her parents—a chef and a former bartender—estimate they have spent \$22,000 on her



# World

upbringing so far. “We feel a lot of pressure,” Tianyi’s mother Ma Ying tells TIME in her two-bedroom apartment, crammed with learning toys and festooned with educational posters. “I hope she will be able to look after us when she gets older.”

The pressure to ensure that a child gets every opportunity means few want to divide resources by having another. Likewise, because of the one-child policy, each young Chinese faces supporting four grandparents, two parents—plus however many children they bear. Shanghai recently passed a law requiring children to visit parents in nursing homes. This oppressive, upside-down pyramid—known as “4-2-1” in China—is another reason Chinese are reluctant to add to their burden by having more kids.

Those who are already parents take pains to ensure their son or daughter marries by a certain age, and marries well. Every Sunday afternoon in Beijing’s Zhongshan Park, scores of parents gather to matchmake for single children, brandishing their vital statistics and academic achievements on posters. One woman discovers my Chinese colleague hails from the same western province as she does and strikes up an eager interrogation, spying a potential match for her daughter. But her face drops when she learns he works in media, which is far from a lucrative profession. “Do you have Beijing household registration?” she asks, referring to China’s preferential social security for urban residents. “Do you own property?” Two more negative responses and the woman has turned on her heels and vanished.

This kind of pressure has changed how young people approach relationships. Therese Hesketh, professor of global health at University College London, says her female colleagues and students in China often remark of suitors, “Oh, I really like him, but he’s too poor so I couldn’t possibly marry him.”

That’s if they marry at all. Registrations for marriage in China have declined annually since 2013; the number of divorces has climbed every year since 2006. A rising section of China’s middle class no longer see marriage as the only path to security, and are choosing to forgo a traditional family life and prioritize careers. “Marriage and children are becoming less significant in young people’s lives,” says Professor Gu Baochang, a demographer at Beijing’s Renmin University. “Their mind-set is totally different.”

Singles have begun to relish their freedom. On Nov. 11, China celebrates Singles’ Day—chosen as the date’s decimal form 11/11 looks like solitary figures—as a refractory remedy to Valentine’s Day to celebrate singledom and curb some of the commonly associated negativity. It’s now the biggest shopping day in the world, clocking up \$30.8 billion in sales in 2018. Single Chinese women have also started to reclaim the term *leftover* as a mark of defiance.

Many men, by contrast, don’t have a choice. China has 34 million more men than women, because of a



preference for male heirs and a history of selective abortions. By 2020, China will have 24 million single men of marrying age unable to find wives. Imagine the combined male populations of Texas and New York State were perpetually lonely, depressed and sexually unfulfilled. The consequences could be dramatic; multiple studies implicate gender imbalances in maladies including reduced consumption and real estate bubbles, and correlate with spikes in violent crime, spousal abuse, trafficking and prostitution.

Whole industries have been created to cater for these single males. Hordes of pretty young women livestream the unvarnished humdrum of their lives, earning six-figure salaries through online “gifts” from forlorn male fans. “China has a large population, and some people can’t find love in real life, so they turn to online streaming,” says Sun Xiaotang, 21, who earns up to \$11,700 a month from her 50,000 followers, mainly by coquettishly playing musical instruments. “Streaming stars are like movie stars, but more reachable. They interact with fans and comfort

A normal day for Li An Xiao and his wife Zhao Zhi Ping includes a morning swim or park workout, and an afternoon whirlpool bath





lonely hearts to satisfy the need for company.”

The government response to a graying population may, in fact, reverse recent gains for young middle-class women in China, after years of gender discrimination. Although the highest echelons of the Chinese government are still exclusively male, women are outperforming men in education and increasingly in the workplace. Despite China’s gender imbalance and positive discrimination favoring male students, more women than men attend Chinese universities. Women are responsible for 41% of Chinese GDP—the highest proportion in the world. Some 7 in 10 Chinese mothers work. Eighty percent of all female self-made billionaires, globally, are Chinese.

But as China seeks to grow families to help care for the elderly, it also risks consigning girls of the next generation to predetermined caregiving roles, as traditional families consider daughters more doting and dutiful than sons toward ailing kin. Meanwhile, with limited resources and soaring school costs, sons in larger families will once again be prioritized for

## AGING WORLD

### Kodokushi

The name given to the phenomenon of elderly people dying alone, common in Japan

### 1.76

Birth rate in the U.S.; a rate of 2.1 is required to maintain population growth

### 1.75

The birth rate in Russia, where one regional government gives couples a “Day of Conception” off work every year to make babies

### 1.16

The birth rate in Singapore, where authorities have subsidized dates such as Pilates classes and wine tastings for couples to spur conception

education. According to a survey by employment website 51job.com, three-quarters of companies felt less inclined to hire women following the move to the two-child policy. “This is a generation of women who will be spending a big chunk of their lives caring for others,” says Hesketh.

**AS THE GENDER GAP WIDENS**, so will the gap between rich and poor—thanks to China’s past attempts to play with demographics. One legacy of the one-child policy is that each generation stands to inherit the wealth of four grandparents and two parents—the flip side of the “4-2-1” phenomenon. In affluent families, this can be a bumper inheritance. Tianyi’s parents Ma Ying and Liu Minwei are both only-child Beijing residents and now control six properties in the booming Chinese capital. Part of the reason they don’t want to have another child is to ensure Tianyi inherits everything herself. “Families fighting over inheritance is common in China,” says Liu. “We want to avoid that ugliness.”

The result is a picture of China’s future that bears little relation to its leaders’ dreams of global supremacy: an increasingly unequal society of oppressed women and lonely men, many burdened by the care of elderly parents and grandparents, and an economy crippled by unsustainable debts. China’s pension shortfall could top \$130 billion by 2020, according to Beijing’s National Academy of Economic Strategy, and China’s debt burden is already estimated at three times its GDP. But beyond social engineering, the government is failing to make preparations for the gray wave to come; pension reform, for example, has been torpid. “Perhaps we must wait for the next Tiananmen Square-level crisis in China for the government to finally act,” Leckie says.

On Hainan, you don’t have to look far to find distress. Li Zuo Zhong lives about an hour’s drive inland from the carefree Li An Xiao. But the two men bear no relation by either blood or life’s lot. A Hainan native, Li Zuo Zhong thinks he is 65. Or maybe 64. Having never married—“There are no women in this village,” he laments—and with no children he sees little cause to remember. A stonecutter by trade, he built his two-room home himself. It is rimmed by a tidy mosaic wall of stacked flint, though has neither toilet nor running water. Instead, five plastic buckets collect rain from the roof.

Li’s prized possession is a 40-year-old bicycle made by storied Shanghai firm Forever. But he has no phone and his watch recently broke, meaning only the sun charts his days. With no family support, his sole income is \$22 per month from the government. Were he to get ill? “Then I die,” he says grimly, lighting another Xiongshi cigarette. “Don’t be like me, have children,” Li says, grasping my arm, eyes suddenly brimming. “You don’t want to meet your end alone.” □



IN THE WORLD'S WORST COUNTRY TO GIVE BIRTH

# ***The Flying Midwives***

ARE SAVING THE LIVES OF MOMS AND BABIES

BY ARYN BAKER / PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO





# Health



*Alima Modu  
Babayo holds her  
baby for the first  
time, seconds  
after giving  
birth in the State  
Specialist Hospital  
in Maiduguri,  
Nigeria, on Oct. 13*



# Health

## In

IN THE SMALL, WHITEWASHED MEDICAL clinic of Banki, one of northeastern Nigeria's largest camps for internally displaced people (IDP), midwife Stella Aneto takes a rare pause between deliveries to catch her breath. Before wiping down the clinic's sole delivery bed with disinfectant, Aneto glances at the clinic logbook. Two women have already given birth, and at least three others are in the early stages of labor. She instructs an assistant to prepare extra emergency supplies. Anything can go wrong when it comes to labor and delivery, but especially in a region with high rates of child marriage, malnutrition and malaria, where it's not uncommon for midwives to tend to 18-year-olds giving birth to their fourth child.

In a bare-bones clinic that has no electricity or running water, and where the nearest hospital is 80 miles away, the chances of death in childbirth are extremely high. Yet Aneto hasn't lost a single patient since she started working at the clinic 12 months ago. "I am always afraid of complications," she says. "If something goes wrong, we don't have what we need to help." So Aneto's goal is to make sure things don't go wrong. And the only way to do that, she says, is to prepare. "Out here, preparing is our prevention."

Nigeria is a risky place to give birth. Around 58,000 mothers die in childbirth in Nigeria every year, and 240,000 newborns within 28 days of birth. Despite being the wealthiest country in Africa by GDP, it ranks fourth in maternal mortality globally. But the situation is especially bad in the northeast of the country. Here in Borno state, which is at the epicenter of a decade-long Islamist insurgency led by Boko Haram, more than 6,500 newborns die every year of preventable causes—twice the rate of the rest of the country, according to the Nigerian government. And approximately 3,500 to 4,500 women die yearly because of causes related to childbirth.

Even before the conflict started, the

chronically underdeveloped region suffered a significantly higher maternal and infant death toll than the country as a whole, largely because of traditional practices and a history of political neglect. When the Boko Haram insurgency started gaining ground in 2012, half of the region's 200 doctors fled. Health facilities were looted and destroyed, leaving pregnant adolescent girls and women particularly vulnerable. At 1,549 deaths per 100,000 live births, the northeast's maternal mortality toll was nearly double the national average of 814, according to a 2015 survey by the World Health Organization. In Finland, the average is three.

Today, UNICEF estimates that only a handful of obstetrician-gynecologists remain in the region, centered in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state and the biggest city in the northeast. Yet, according to Pernille Ironside, UNICEF deputy representative for Nigeria, some 250,000 women give birth in the region every year. Based on global statistics, she expects that without help, around 50,000 of them will face life-threatening complications during delivery. "In the majority of these cases, death is entirely preventable," says Ironside. "No mother, no matter where she is, should experience the tragedy of losing her child or her life while giving birth."

These numbers aren't just tragic misfortunes; they are powerful indicators of deep weakness in the national health system. The issue promises to play a role, albeit a limited one, in the Feb. 16 presidential election. First Lady Aisha Buhari, whose husband Muhammadu is up for reelection, has made reducing maternal and infant death one of her priorities. "When a country can't protect its most vulnerable citizens from preventable death, it makes you question the strength of the system as a whole," says Sanjana Bhardwaj, UNICEF Nigeria's chief of health.

# 19%

## OF MATERNAL DEATHS OCCUR IN NIGERIA



**NIGERIA IS TRYING** to change the narrative in the northeast, with UNICEF's help. Aneto, an energetic 30-year-old with rectangular glasses and a stylishly disheveled ponytail, is one of 50 midwives whom the agency has deployed since September 2017 to work in the health clinics of Borno state's IDP camps. The midwives, mostly young women from across Nigeria, are recruited to work on a rotation basis, spending four weeks on the ground before taking one week of home leave. Aneto, who lives 770 miles away in the southeastern state of Anambra, says that she spends more time traveling to and from her rotation than she does at home on leave, but that the chance





to make a difference makes it worthwhile.

So does the salary. Thanks to support from UNICEF, midwives in the program earn nearly twice as much as a senior midwife in a state hospital, and for good reason. Most of the camps are in active conflict zones and are accessible only by air. Aneto, who had never even been on a plane before her interview, was terrified when she was told she would have to commute by helicopter. Now, she says it's as easy as taking the bus. The gunfire that frequently interrupts her sleep has been a little bit harder to get used to.

According to the U.N., Nigeria accounts for 19% of the world's maternal deaths and nearly a tenth of all newborn

*Kellu Dauda, a midwife at a UNICEF-supported clinic in Ngala, in Borno state, Nigeria*

deaths. The loss of so many lives is painful for Aneto to think about, especially since she knows that with a little education and the right kind of tech interventions, it wouldn't be too much of a stretch to bring her country's maternal death toll closer to the European rate, which at 16 per 100,000 births is around 2% of Nigeria's rate. Life in Banki might be easier if she had 3G coverage on her cell phone, she laughs, but overall, saving lives doesn't

require advanced technology. "We just need to get women into the clinic, and get them here often." For her, prevention starts with constant monitoring, so that potential problems can be identified and fixed before the woman even gets to the delivery table.

Nigeria's health ministry recommends that women consult with a health care professional four times in their pregnancy. In 2016, the World Health Organization changed its recommendation from four to eight visits. Aneto wants to see her patients at least once a month, and doesn't mind if they come in even more often. That way she can make sure they are taking antimalaria medications





and sleeping under mosquito nets. Malaria is one of the major causes of preterm labor, uterine rupture and postpartum hemorrhaging.

In a remote area like Banki, or the dozen other IDP camps where UNICEF has medical clinics, early identification of potential problems is even more essential, says Dr. Saidu Hassan, an ob-gyn for UNICEF's Maternal and Newborn Health program. While medical evacuations are possible, military convoys to a hospital in Maiduguri can take several days to organize, especially if fighting has broken out. When it's clear a pregnant woman will need specialized care, midwives can refer her to the capital well in advance of her due date, to avoid complications, says Hassan. But "if a woman hemorrhages in Banki and needs blood, well, she would not likely make it." A trained midwife can not only manage labor so hemorrhages are less likely to happen, she can also identify potential problems during delivery and apply early interventions.

Aneto hasn't even finished wiping down the bed when Halima Musa, 30, staggers into the delivery room supported by a pair of clinic assistants.

Yanze Bulama, 35, was hemorrhaging badly after she delivered a stillborn baby at home at 37 weeks pregnant

Within moments the angry squall of a newborn girl—Musa's seventh child—fills the room. Before Aneto can finish cleaning off the baby, Musa is being hustled off the table to make room for Fanna Balama, who is 15. Balama's

**'No mother, no matter where she is, should experience the tragedy of losing her child while giving birth.'**

—PERNILLE IRONSIDE, UNICEF DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE FOR NIGERIA

baby—her first—is already crowning, and another midwife takes over. Aneto mops sweat from her face and laughs. "Sometimes we have so many women coming in here it feels like a market."

The drive to get women out of their homes and into the clinic is already beginning to bear fruit in the northeast. The Banki clinic didn't see a single case of maternal mortality in the 1,271 babies delivered in 2018. But women have died giving birth at home in the camp. "Delivery at home is a serious problem here," says Kellu Dauda, a 28-year-old midwife at a clinic in Ngala, also near the border with Cameroon. "When you deliver in the clinic, we can take care of problems. If there is a tear, we have sutures. If you are bleeding, we can help. When you deliver at home, anything can go wrong."

Around 80% of women in northeast Nigeria still deliver at home, where they have no access to the kind of care that can save lives. Many depend on the help of traditional birth attendants who, though well-meaning, can make complications in delivery worse. Often, they pull out the placenta, which can rupture the uterus, instead of waiting for it to come out on its





own. Sometimes, uneducated attendants use dirty tools to cut the umbilical cord and unwittingly give the newborn blood poisoning or tetanus. The tradition of treating the baby's umbilical cord with cow dung doesn't help, either.

But traditional birth attendants don't always make traditional mistakes. Recently Hassan has noticed that several are injecting their clients with oxytocin, which can be easily found in Nigeria's largely unregulated drugstores, in order to accelerate contractions. When it is used incorrectly, the effects can be deadly.

Rather than compete with the traditional attendants, UNICEF has started incorporating them into the camp clinics, offering them training and jobs as assistants and cleaners. They get incentives for persuading pregnant women to attend the clinics, and when those clients come back home with healthy babies, the attendants can maintain their status as trusted figures in society.

**THE MIDWIVES NEED** all the help they can get. Dauda loves her work, but the conditions are hard. In the Ngala clinic, Dauda sees up to 50 pregnant women a

^  
*Midwife Topchin Job Goro, 28, cleans off a newborn after the child was delivered in a UNICEF-supported clinic in Borno state, Nigeria*

day and is constantly on call for deliveries. There is nothing better than bringing a baby into the world, she says, but there is little worse than suturing a woman at night by the light of her cell phone because the clinic has no electricity.

The Nigerian Ministry of Health says it is committed to improving conditions for pregnant women in the northeast and in the country in general, but the need is great and resources limited in a country that already has one of the world's worst health-worker-to-population ratios. Nigeria has only 20 doctors, nurses and midwives per 10,000 inhabitants, fewer than the 23 the WHO says is necessary to ensure "skilled care at birth to significant numbers of pregnant women." UNICEF plans to train 5,000 midwives for deployment countrywide, but to Ironside, "it sometimes feels like a drop in the bucket. We have such a massive gap in

terms of the availability of medical services generally; what it really means is that there needs to be much more government investment in health care and training in the northeast, once security is re-established."

Alas, Boko Haram is still an ever present threat to the region. On March 1, 2018, two humanitarian workers and one UNICEF doctor were among 11 people killed in an attack by insurgents in the nearby town of Rann. A nurse and two Red Cross midwives were taken hostage. When the ransom wasn't paid, they executed one of the midwives on Sept. 17 and another a month later. On Dec. 6, Boko Haram struck again, burning down UNICEF's clinic in Rann. The agency has condemned the attacks and called for the protection of all humanitarian workers.

Though they shared the same WhatsApp group, Dauda didn't know either of the executed midwives personally. Yet despite her fears and the urging of her family, she says she won't go anywhere. "If we are not here, what will happen to all the pregnancies? What will happen to the babies? Without our help, it will be even worse than Boko Haram." □









# THE OPTIMISTS

*34 people changing how we see our world*

DJENEBA ADUAYOM  
ELIZABETH ALEXANDER  
CLAY BENSKIN  
FRANK BOWLING  
JOY BUOLAMWINI  
ERIN CHRISTOVALE  
JEFFREY CIRIO  
RHEA COMBS  
LAVERNE COX  
GUILLERMO DEL TORO  
LOUIS DELSARTE  
BILL GATES  
RUJEKO HOCKLEY

JENNY HOLZER  
KINSALE HUESTON  
CHRIS JACKSON  
AURORA JAMES  
ROBIN COSTE LEWIS  
LISA LUCAS  
NELSON MAKAMO  
PREETI MISTRY  
JASON MORAN  
AIDA MULUNEH  
LISA NISHIMURA  
Q-TIP  
BIRD RUNNINGWATER  
JACK SHAINMAN  
NIKESH SHUKLA  
HANK WILLIS THOMAS  
CICELY TYSON  
LENA WAITHE  
DARREN WALKER  
DAMIAN WOETZEL  
KEVIN YOUNG

## **FIRST IN THE HEART IS A DREAM**

**By Aida Muluneh**

When Addis Ababa-based photographer Muluneh was commissioned for TIME's Optimists issue, she turned to Ethiopia's political climate for inspiration. There, a new Prime Minister is bringing in reforms, including championing women in government. In this image, a woman is being pulled in different directions, but has keys near her heart. "Sometimes we forget we hold the keys to unlock things," Muluneh says. "Moving forward with truth and love is what optimism is."



# WHY I'M HOPEFUL

Leaders share the sources of their optimism

*Because believing is  
an act of rebellion*

By Guillermo  
**DEL TORO**

OPTIMISM IS RADICAL. IT IS THE HARD CHOICE, the brave choice. And it is most needed now, in the face of despair—just as a car is most useful when there is a distance to close. Otherwise it is a large, unmovable object parked in the garage.

These days, the safest way to appear intelligent is to be skeptical by default. We seem sophisticated when we say we don't believe and disingenuous when we say we do.

History and fable show nothing is ever entirely lost. David can take Goliath. A beach in Normandy can turn the tide of war. Bravery can topple the powerful. These facts are often seen as exceptional, but they are not. Every day, we all become the balance of our choices—choices between love and fear, belief or despair. No hope is ever too small.

Optimism is our instinct to inhale while suffocating. Our need to declare what needs to be in the face of what is. Optimism is not uncool; it is rebellious and daring and vital.

The writer Theodore Sturgeon once said: "90% of everything is crap." That also means "10% of everything is worth the damn effort."

And so it goes time after time, choice after choice, that we decide to leave behind a biography or an epitaph. Look around you now and decide between the two. Inhale or die.

---

*Del Toro is an Oscar-winning filmmaker*







KANGHEE KIM

## Because innovation is an art form

By **Bill GATES**

WHEN I THINK ABOUT THE CONNECTION between art and optimism, the first person who comes to mind is Leonardo da Vinci.

I've been reading about Leonardo for decades—including Walter Isaacson's outstanding 2017 biography—and in 1994, I bought one of the notebooks, known as the *Codex Leicester*, in which Leonardo recorded his thoughts and sketched out ideas.

What does a Renaissance artist have to do with optimism? For me, the connection is innovation. I feel optimistic about the future because I know that advances in human knowledge have improved life for billions of people, and I am confident they will keep doing so. And although I am no art expert, everything I have learned about Leonardo leads me to believe he was one of the most innovative thinkers ever.

Today of course Leonardo is most famous for paintings like the *Mona Lisa* and *The Last Supper*. But in his mind, Leonardo was not primarily a painter. He thought of himself as an engineer first. In a letter to the ruler of Milan listing his strengths, sent in the early 1480s, Leonardo mentioned 10 different skills—designing bridges, tunnels, chariots and catapults, for example—before adding at the end that he could also paint.

Leonardo was an insatiable learner. He studied everything he could see: the flow of water, the way smoke rises through the air, how a woodpecker uses its tongue. And he had insights that were ahead of his time. He developed a theory about the working of a certain heart valve that researchers only verified a few decades ago. He was the first person to correctly explain why you can see light between the two points of a crescent moon, the phenomenon we now call earthshine.

Scientific inquiries like these were essential to his art. He was able to give the *Mona Lisa* that mysterious look on her face



because he had studied all the muscles involved in smiling. In *The Last Supper*, he could make the perspective lines work flawlessly because he had spent countless hours understanding how our eyes perceive objects at a distance. By examining his surroundings so closely, Leonardo was able to develop new techniques that advanced his field and portrayed the world in a way no one had ever seen before. In other words, he was an innovator.

In my own work today, I get to connect with brilliant people who have this same spirit. When I meet with scientists to discuss inventing new vaccines, for example, I see in them a similar passion for learning about the world and turning their knowledge into big breakthroughs that make our lives better. That, more than anything, is the root of my optimism.

*Gates is a co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and was the guest editor of TIME's 2018 Optimists issue*



2019 marks the 500th anniversary of Leonardo's death. To help celebrate the occasion, the Codex Leicester will be on display in several European museums

## Because Hollywood is pushing the boundaries

By **Lena WAITHE**

WHAT MAKES ME OPTIMISTIC TODAY ARE THE people trying to rip up what it means to be black and successful in Hollywood, and rebuild it afresh. People like Terence Nance, the writer and director behind HBO's *Random Acts of Flyness*. People like Dime Davis, who is directing four episodes of BET's *Boomerang*, the TV version of a beloved movie that I'm producing. And people like Drew Michael, the stand-up comedian whose recent HBO special was almost like a therapy session; there was no audience hiding Drew and he was so vulnerable. That's what art should be: aware of where the lines are, but coloring outside them.

Audiences are loving this new renaissance. They're entertained, but they're also educated. But my hope is that it no longer needs to be a renaissance, a moment or a movement. I want it to be the norm. It sometimes seems like people believe: "They have *Black Panther*, so they're cool. *Moonlight* won Best Picture, so they're good. They've got shows like *Atlanta* and *Insecure*, so they're done." But that's not enough. White folks have everything, and we still have a lot of catching up to do. It's too soon to be patting ourselves on the back like the problem is solved.

After all, the decisionmakers still don't look like us. We've had a black person run the country, but never a big movie studio. Even though I'm making cool work, I still have to ask white people, "Is it O.K.? Do you like this enough? Do you understand this?" Until the big studio execs look like the rest of the world, that's not going to change.

That said, people of color are a commodity right now. Every senior white executive is like: "Where's my black TV show?" "Where's my black blockbuster?" And that's awesome. But what we need is someone to be looking at it with a certain kind of intention. Don't say, "Where's my *Insecure*?" Ask, "Who's the next Issa Rae?" Don't say, "Where's my *Black Panther*?" Ask, "Who's the next Ryan Coogler?"

We need to find artists who are rebels—and usually the artists who are rebels aren't the kind to raise their hands or promote themselves. We can't





count on the industry to find them. There are very few execs out there looking for the next stars and doing the roll-up-your-sleeves work of reading scripts and talking to a lot of people to find who's next. Until you're hot, no one is seeking you out.

Because Hollywood already trusts me to a certain extent, I'm making it my business to find these artists to give them a platform to make cool and interesting art. We're almost running our own mini studio, because we want to be a safe haven for people to come and do what they do best—and not have it go through a white filter.

We want to show young, aspiring filmmakers that there's another way. You can push the boundaries and do something artful through a commercial lens. We can't just create art that is going to make money and go through the audience like water. We want to make art that will stick to people's ribs.

*Waithe is a screenwriter, producer, actor and creator of Showtime's The Chi*

*Scenes from Black Panther, Moonlight and Atlanta, part of a new renaissance of African-American creativity in Hollywood*

## Because we are a nation of readers

By Lisa  
**LUCAS**

"THE BOOK IS DEAD" IS A REFRAIN I HEAR OFTEN. When I say what I do, people ask, "Does anyone even read anymore?" It's a throwaway remark: The book is obviously dead, or at least dying, right?

False. When people say fighting for books is a futile battle, that's the moment my optimism kicks in. A person who wants to lament the death of reading with me is a person who wants to be convinced otherwise. I'm here for this fight.

Not long ago, I came across the Pew Research Center findings that 24% of Americans didn't read a book in 2017. Now, what I saw was that 76% of Americans did read a book. If three-quarters of any group is participating in an activity, then you are surrounded by people doing that very thing. Meanwhile, book sales have increased every year since 2013. The American Booksellers Association, which promotes independent bookstores, says its membership grew for the ninth year in a row in 2018. While headlines proclaim that books are dying, the research says we are a nation of readers.

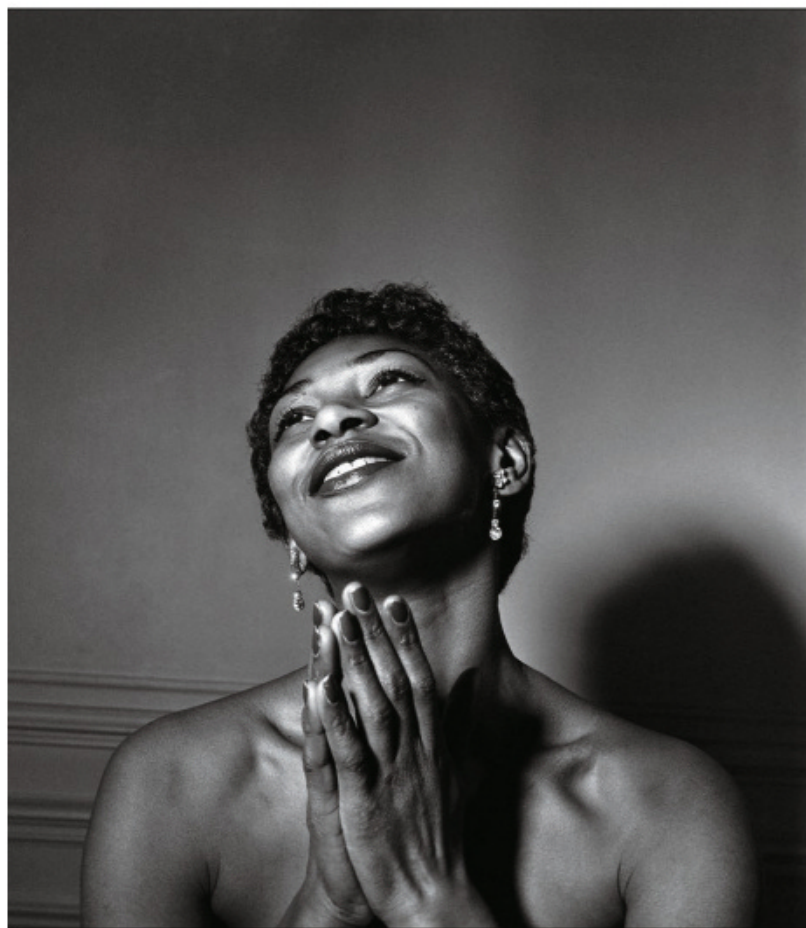
Of course, we know not everyone reads. But we need to better understand who does and why and how to encourage them to read more and more joyfully. We need to figure out who has been left out of the conversation around books and welcome them into the fold with open arms.

My colleagues at publishers, libraries, bookstores and literary nonprofits share such challenges. Our job is to build readers. And we do this because the profound pleasures of a good book are for everyone, everywhere. Storytelling is how we explore and make sense of this world and understand one another. Because books absorb us and harness our imaginations, they are an essential medium for storytelling.

Each day, more books are being published that speak to every kind of person, from every kind of place. And so I believe readers can be built. After all, we have unlimited invitations to this party.

*Lucas is the director of the National Book Foundation, which celebrates the best literature in America, and the presenter of the National Book Awards*





## Because we excel against tough odds

By Laverne  
**COX**

“A VOICE LIKE YOURS IS HEARD ONCE IN A hundred years,” Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini told Marian Anderson after he heard her sing during a European concert tour. The brilliant black singer had traveled to Europe in the 1930s to avoid the racial prejudice she faced in America. During her European concert tour, the operatic contralto became a sensation. But when she returned to the U.S., she was often not able to perform for segregated audiences. She was denied entry to many restaurants and hotels in the cities she toured. She sometimes had to iron her beautiful gowns in the alley of the hotels instead of the basement.

In 1939, her manager tried to book her a show at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C. But it turned out the venue, which was run by the

Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), only allowed white artists. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt heard that Anderson had been turned away and withdrew her membership from the DAR. Instead, she arranged for Anderson to sing at the Lincoln Memorial.

When I need hope, I often look to history—specifically the history of black artistic excellence in America. Anderson herself was never overtly political. But there was something inherently political about a black woman singing classical music on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to 75,000 people. Her voice—and the dignity and artistry with which she performed—was a commentary on the racial politics of the time, but was also capable of transcending those politics. She continues to inspire generations of artists like me.

I’m not the only one. Leontyne Price, who turns 92 on Feb. 10, went to hear Anderson sing at a recital in Jackson, Miss., when she was 9 years old. She said she immediately told her mother, “This is it, Mama. This is what I’m going to be.” In 1955, Price became the first African-American singer to appear in televised opera in an NBC production of *Tosca*. That’s the same year Anderson broke the color barrier at the Metropolitan Opera, becoming

*Singers  
Leontyne  
Price and  
Marian  
Anderson  
connect a  
history of  
black artistic  
excellence in  
America*



the first black soloist at the famed opera house.

Price says her groundbreaking appearance on NBC caused uproar. The South chose not to air the broadcast. Black people were rarely seen on television at the time and interracial marriage and dating was also illegal in many Southern states. (Price had a white leading man.) But Price says she didn't focus on any of that noise. She put all her energy into her voice and her performance. She was exceptional—so much so that when she made her debut at the Metropolitan Opera in 1961, she received a 42-minute standing ovation, still one of the longest ovations in the history of the opera house. In 1982, Price was invited to perform for the DAR. Aware of the history, she stood there and dedicated her performance to Anderson, who 43 years earlier had been turned away by that organization. I watch the video often. I get goose bumps every time.

Anderson and Price dared to create a space for themselves that did not exist before. They show that you can create a way where there is no way. I've always hoped that's what I would do with my life, and in some ways, I've begun to: as the first openly transgender person to be nominated for a prime-time acting Emmy, as the first to appear on the cover of this magazine. Hopefully, I, too, have opened some doors and many more will follow.

The tough times for black folks and trans folks in this country are not over. During a college tour for the past five years, I've gotten to meet hundreds of trans and LGBTQ+ students and have heard about their struggles. It's rough for a lot of them. Many can't access health care or are studying at a university that doesn't even acknowledge their identity. But they're finding ways to push back, to fight, to follow their dreams.

My ancestors went through slavery, Jim and Jane Crow, and yet managed to come out with some of the best music, art and culture that the world has ever known. So many of us have managed to excel and have love in our hearts in the face of such degradation. When I look at the history and the brilliance of African Americans, it gives me a tremendous amount of optimism with perspective. It is horrible what far too many of us have endured. But the history of black excellence in America gives us a template for how to fight—and how to not be demoralized by the fight.

---

*Cox is an actor, activist and producer, and the first openly transgender person to receive an Emmy nomination for acting*

## Because we can free our machines of bias

By Joy  
**BUOLAMWINI**

MACHINES CAN DISCRIMINATE IN HARMFUL ways.

I experienced this firsthand, when I was a graduate student at MIT in 2015 and discovered that some facial-analysis software couldn't detect my dark-skinned face until I put on a white mask. These systems are often trained on images of predominantly light-skinned men. And so, I decided to share my experience of the coded gaze, the bias in artificial intelligence that can lead to discriminatory or exclusionary practices.

Altering myself to fit the norm—in this case better represented by a white mask than my actual face—led me to realize the impact of the exclusion overhead, a term I coined to describe the cost of systems that don't take into account the diversity of humanity. How much does a person have to change themselves to function with technological systems that increasingly govern our lives?

We often assume machines are neutral, but they aren't. My research uncovered large gender and racial bias in AI systems sold by tech giants like IBM, Microsoft and Amazon. Given the task of guessing the gender of a face, the companies I evaluated had error rates of no more than 1% for lighter-skinned men. For darker-skinned women, the errors soared to 35%. AI systems from leading companies have failed to correctly classify the faces of Oprah Winfrey, Michelle Obama and Serena Williams. When technology denigrates even these iconic women, it is time to re-examine how these systems are built and whom they truly serve.

There's no shortage of headlines highlighting tales of failed machine-learning systems that amplify, rather than rectify, sexist hiring practices, racist criminal-justice procedures, predatory advertising and the spread of false information.

But at least we're paying attention now. Computer-vision experts, the ACLU and the Algorithmic Justice League, which I founded in 2016, have all uncovered racial bias in facial-analysis and recognition technology. Given what we know about racism in policing, there needs to



be a moratorium on using such technology in law enforcement—including in drones or police body cameras. When people’s lives are on the line, AI must be developed and deployed with care. That’s why I launched the Safe Face Pledge to prevent the lethal use and mitigate abuse of facial-analysis and recognition technology. So far, three companies have agreed to sign the pledge.

As more people question how seemingly neutral technology has gone astray, it’s clear how crucial it is to have broader representation in the design, development, deployment and governance of AI. The underrepresentation of women and people of color in technology, and the undersampling of these groups in the data that shapes AI, has led to the creation of technology that is optimized for a small portion of the world.

Less than 2% of employees in technical roles at Facebook and Google are black. At eight large tech companies evaluated by Bloomberg in 2018, only around a fifth of the technical workforce at each were women. And echoing the pale male data problem that excludes so much of society in the data that fuels AI, I found one government data set of faces collected for testing that contained 75% men and 80% lighter-skinned individuals and less than 5% women of color.

Issues of bias in AI tend to most adversely affect the people who are rarely in positions to develop technology. Being a black woman, and an outsider in the field of AI, enables me to spot issues many of my peers overlooked.

I am optimistic that there is still time to shift toward building ethical and inclusive AI systems that respect our human dignity and rights. By enabling marginalized communities to engage in the development and governance of AI, we can work toward creating better systems.

In addition to lawmakers, technologists and researchers, this journey will require storytellers who embrace the search for truth through art and science. Storytelling has the power to shift perspectives, galvanize change, alter damaging patterns and reaffirm to others that their experiences matter. That’s why art can explore the emotional, societal, and historical connections of algorithmic bias in ways academic papers and statistics cannot. And as long as stories ground our aspirations, challenge harmful assumptions and ignite change, I remain hopeful.

*Buolamwini is a computer scientist, founder of the Algorithmic Justice League and a poet of code*



## Because art shakes us and wakes us

By **Darren WALKER**

“EVERY POET IS AN OPTIMIST,” JAMES BALDWIN told a *Guardian* reporter in 1974, in an interview promoting his tender, poignant novel *If Beale Street Could Talk*. It was his first book in six years, and he would soon turn 50 years old. As a black man in America, one who had stood weeping at his friend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s funeral in Atlanta, pessimism would have been understandable. But as one of our greatest artists, a writer who lived with eyes wide open to the beauty and tragedy of the world around him, Baldwin found both comfort and possibility in hope.

I am no poet myself, but this is why my optimism is so often renewed and recharged by the arts. From the time I encountered Baldwin’s work when I was a sophomore in college to this winter, when I sat stunned by Barry Jenkins’s astonishing and all-too-timely film adaptation of *Beale Street*, Baldwin’s words have lifted me up, expanded my consciousness and helped me make sense of my own experience. More often than not, I find that it is art’s defiance and empathy—its defiant empathy—that shakes me and wakes me.

I remember vividly when, as a young student at the University of Texas, the Dance Theatre of Harlem visited Austin on a national tour. The majesty and grace of their performance astonished me. Seeing people who looked like me, dancing and expressing themselves in a way that was so dynamic and kinetic moved me deeply. I have been lucky enough to have that experience



of the arts broadening my perspective and expanding my world many times since.

Today, we are blessed with art, artists, and even art patrons that make us feel our most awake and hopeful.

That was how I felt last year, when I found myself sitting inside the gates of the San Quentin State Prison in California, with legendary art patron and philanthropist Agnes Gund. What was this 80-year-old grandmother, and president emerita of New York City's Museum of Modern Art, doing in a men's prison? Simple. Aggie was there to learn.

After reading Michelle Alexander's book *The New Jim Crow*, and watching Ava DuVernay's documentary *13th*, Aggie was horrified by the criminal-justice system and the implications for her own grandchildren, six of whom are black. So, after decades of charitable donations to museums, she chose to direct her philanthropy toward justice.

In 2017, Aggie sold one of her prized works of art—Roy Lichtenstein's *Masterpiece*, pictured left—and used most of the proceeds to establish the Art for Justice Fund, which is now investing more than \$100 million toward criminal-justice reform. While patrons of the arts are typically more focused on paintings and buildings, Aggie has created a platform for them to join her in contributing to meaningful, systemic change.

That day at San Quentin, our guide was a man whose life could not have been more different from hers. He was black, convicted at age 16, now serving a sentence of 35 years to life. His beard had grayed. As they talked—Aggie in a stylish but practical vest; her tour guide in a jacket labeled PRISONER—I felt anguish, but also optimism. These two people, with such vastly different lives, were standing shoulder to shoulder and committed to the same arc of justice.

Like our forbearers a half-century ago, today we find ourselves in a moment of possibility, but also one of uncertainty and upheaval. In such a moment, free, full, and creative expression can inspire and embolden us. It can connect us to one another and build momentum for change. And it can fuel our collective optimism. Art may well imitate life, but it also imbues it with a radical kind of hope—for each of us, for our communities and country, and for generations to come.

---

*Walker is the president of the Ford Foundation, a nonprofit with the mission of reducing poverty and injustice, and strengthening democratic values*

## Because food creates community

By Preeti  
**MISTRY**

IT WAS ON SEPT. 11, 2001, THAT I DECIDED TO BECOME a chef. That evening, as the horror unfolded, I went into the kitchen and started making dinner for my girlfriend—now my wife—and me. After a day of not knowing what to do with myself, the act of cooking a meal connected with something in my soul. It was optimism in the face of devastation. It was the moment I saw the meaning behind cooking a meal for yourself and those you love.

Food is family and community; it brings people together and nourishes them. But while cooking holds the potential for joy, the chef community often fails the most talented people within it.

In May 2017, I criticized the upper echelons of the fine-dining industry in a *New York Times* article. The simple assertion that the top 1% of our industry needed to reconsider their treatment of women and people of color sparked a backlash. Indignant white male chefs (and their female allies) rushed to discredit me: Who did I think I was?

It wasn't the first time in my cooking career that white men have taken offense. In culinary school, I made the classic French dish lamb persillade with cilantro instead of parsley and finished it with a sauce infused with Indian spices. My French chef instructor firmly told me, "You can't do that." All too often, we assume European cooking is superior to Indian, Chinese, Jamaican, Mexican.

In many ways, this paradigm helps create the inequities in our restaurant culture that lead to the myriad of abuses uncovered by the #MeToo movement in the past two years. Countless women have risked their careers and more, just to speak up.

As a queer brown immigrant chef, I have no interest in backing down. Making food is not about the "right way." It is about sharing, nourishment, healing. That's what I was looking for on Sept. 11. The joy and pride I feel in bringing the flavors and feelings of my culture to people is what keeps me going—and keeps me speaking up to make our community of chefs a better one.

---

*Mistry is the former chef and co-owner of Juhu Beach Club and Navi Kitchen*



# THE STREET PHOTOGRAPHER

A superintendent at a building in New York City's Tribeca neighborhood where he has worked for 25 years, **CLAY BENSKIN** started taking photographs on his iPhone just a few years ago. His efforts to capture an ever changing city—without any formal training—are a reminder that photography is perhaps the ultimate democratic art form.

LIFE IS FULL OF BEAUTIFUL little moments, if you take the time to look. And looking is Benskin's specialty. Wandering New York City with camera in hand, Benskin captures scenes that would otherwise disappear: unusual characters, kids playing outside, lovers sharing a romantic moment in public. "I just enjoy people," the 48-year-old says. "Everything fascinates me."

The building supervisor started shooting almost daily about six years ago, at first on his iPhone, after joshing a photographer tenant that he could take better pictures with his iPhone than the professional could. Benskin has himself moved to a "real" camera, a Fuji X100F, but as any decent street photographer will tell you, it's not about the gear—it's about the eye.

A New York native, Benskin honed his vision growing up in the Bronx, often sitting on a mailbox and people watching for hours while waiting for friends to show up. That tendency to watch, rather than

participate, only grew stronger over time. "We would go to clubs, and I don't drink, don't smoke, don't dance, so I would just stand along the wall and watch people interact," he says. "I had more fun trying to figure out what people were trying to do, like who was trying to talk to who, who was going to get turned down."

While some street photographers look for an interesting background or good light and wait for a subject to enter the composition, others, like Benskin, stroll their cities in search of subjects. "I just walk, I just go," he says. "I'll take 20 or 30 random pictures just to get myself comfortable. I'll shoot like a madman until I get away from my job. Then I'll calm down and look for things."

Benskin prefers black-and-white photography, in part because color can be trickier to manage. One out-of-place

red car or blue mailbox, and an otherwise brilliant composition can be ruined.

Street photographers trace their roots back to at least the 1930s, when leading photographers like Henri Cartier-Bresson and Walker Evans were laying the groundwork for the genre. New York City, with its grittiness and endless supply of scenes and characters, was a natural hot spot, thanks in part to more contemporary artists like Bruce Gilden and Martha Cooper.

But Benskin is part of a new generation of New York street photographers, who seek out moments of warmth, humor or love—a reflection of the city's evolution from the rough-and-tumble past. "I'm just a sucker for romance," Benskin says.

With more than 20,000 followers on Instagram, Benskin worries about the high expectations that come with an audience. More than once, he's deleted his account out of frustration. He's experimented with pseudonymous accounts to share images but eventually returned to running his own page, where he's curated a small selection of favorite images.

These days, Benskin makes a game of seeing how close he can get to his subjects without attracting attention. "A few of my friends think I'm invisible," he says. The real point, of course, is not what others can see. It's what he can.

—ALEX FITZPATRICK







"If I stand somewhere and observe someone, it's because I've made up a story in my head and I'm trying to capture that story," Benskin says. Washington Square Park, Manhattan.



THE  
OPTIMISTS



Benskin likes to capture moments of tenderness between couples in New York City. “I love to get close,” Benskin says. “I must have a million pictures of couples kissing.” Times Square, Manhattan.





HOT SAUSAGE

HOT SAUSAGE

Hot Dog \$3.50  
Hot Sausage \$4.00  
Hot Knish \$3.00  
Lump Gyro \$4.00  
Chicken Gyro \$4.00  
Chicken Kebab \$4.00  
Lump Rice \$3.50  
Chicken rice \$4.00  
Hot flatbread \$1.50  
soda can \$1.50  
Soda bottle \$2.00  
Hot Pretzel \$1.50  
Water small \$1.00  
Large water \$1.50

HOT DOG

ITALIAN SAUSAGE

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

PRETZEL







Left and below: Coney Island, Brooklyn.  
“I have a love-hate relationship with street  
photography,” says Benskin. “I love it  
because I don’t know what I’m doing, and I  
hate it because I don’t know what I’m doing.”

Following two pages: the Bronx.





THE  
OPTIMISTS



**BIG JAKE'S**  
**WE BUY GOLD**  
**WE SELL TECHN**



9  
PAYMENT  
OPTION

acima



JEWELRY  
BONDS  
WATCHES



REPAIRS WHILE U WAIT



# CHAMPIONS OF CULTURE

12 people supporting the next generation of artists

## Jack Shainman

*Gallery director at  
Jack Shainman Gallery*

Even as a kid growing up in Williamstown, Mass., Jack Shainman was honing his eye for great art. The son of a music professor, he was a regular at nearby museums like the Clark Art Institute, and he cut his teeth on collecting by buying work from local art students. Now, 30 years into his career as a gallery owner, Shainman is responsible for helping to cultivate some of the most significant names in contemporary art today, from painter Kerry James Marshall to photographer and multimedia artist Carrie Mae Weems to Ghanaian sculptor El Anatsui. Through the decades, one thing has remained constant: his passion for finding an audience for underseen visionaries.

To be a good gallery owner, Shainman says, you have to be fully committed to the artists you represent. “When you show something in the gallery, you have to be ready to defend it—not everybody comes in and loves everything all the time.” This was certainly the case when he opened his first New York City gallery with his late partner Claude Simard, in 1986. Shainman held fast to representing creators whose work he truly believed was worthy, rather than catering to the tastes of the industry. But it wasn’t exactly a recipe for quick success. Several of the artists Shainman represented were people of color, and thanks to the underlying currents of racism in the art world—a problem that’s far from solved today—he struggled to get his roster of artists included in major art fairs and often met with reluctant clients. After Marshall’s first show with Shainman in 1993 wrapped up with a few unsold paintings, Shainman remembers the painter telling him, “I just don’t think people are ready to have pictures of black people in their living rooms.”

Things have changed since



Kerry James Marshall’s 2015 painting *Untitled (policeman)*

then—last year, a painting of Marshall’s sold for \$21.1 million to the mogul Sean Combs—but for Shainman, who now has two galleries in New York and a 30,000-sq.-ft. exhibition space upstate, his motivation remains the same. While he’s proud that his gallery is known for its diverse roster of artists, he says that’s simply a by-product of his approach. “It happened organically,” he says, “just by being open to new things and for the love of the work.” —Wilder Davies



“When you show something in the gallery, *you have to be ready to defend it*—not everybody comes in and loves everything all the time.”





## Chris Jackson

*Publisher and editor-in-chief of One World, a Penguin Random House imprint*

Chris Jackson publishes books. But what moves him most can't be found within their pages. More than anything, the publisher and editor-in-chief of the imprint One World is moved when he sees the work his books do to bring people together.

Take civil rights attorney Bryan Stevenson's 2014 book *Just Mercy*, which Jackson edited. Last year, during the inaugural weekend of the national lynching memorial Stevenson's Equal Justice Initiative built, Jackson saw visitors carrying *Just Mercy* as a kind of guiding text. "The book was the platform Bryan used to extend his work in ways that are transforming our communal memory in this country," Jackson says.

This is the project that interests Jackson. He wants more from his books than their aesthetic value. And it's paying off: Ta-Nehisi Coates' *Between the World and Me* won the National Book Award; Eddie Huang's *Fresh Off the Boat* is now an ABC sitcom; *Just Mercy* is set to become a feature film in 2020. "In this moment when a lot of people are feeling despair," he says, "I get to participate in imagining what can be." —Abigail Abrams

Scene from the breakout Netflix docuseries *Wild Wild Country*



## Lisa Nishimura

*Vice president of original documentary and comedy programming at Netflix*

Back when Netflix was a DVD-mailing service—before streaming changed everything—Lisa Nishimura was in charge of buying movies from all over the world for the company. She knew that the stories she found, from Bollywood romances to obscure anime titles, might never have reached U.S. audiences had she not brought them in. More than a decade later, Nishimura's role has expanded. Today she ushers to the screen various forms of nonfiction storytelling and comedy specials, and she brings the same zeal she once applied to hunting down the rarest gems—only now, tailored to the era of binge-watching.

If you've consumed whole a buzzy Netflix series, there's a good chance Nishimura was behind it: the true-crime sensation *Making a Murderer* and

the bizarre cult saga *Wild Wild Country* both owe thanks to her commitment to championing under-the-radar filmmakers. She argued that people would binge nonfiction in the same way they would dramas like *Orange Is the New Black* and *House of Cards*. And she was right.

Nishimura also helped secure Dave Chappelle's splashy 2017 return to the screen after a 13-year hiatus, and she gave comedians Hannah Gadsby and Ali Wong their biggest stages. "I'm drawn to filmmakers and comedians that have an incredibly clear and personal point of view—it's just bubbling over," she says. And now, as Netflix grows with breakneck speed, Nishimura is considering how everything she brings to the platform will land with its growing global audience. "I'm programming for the world," she says. —MAHITA GAJANAN





Activist Fannie Lou Hamer and her husband Perry “Pap” Hamer



## Rhea Combs

Curator of film and photography  
at the National Museum of African  
American History and Culture



Among the many artifacts collected at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of African American History and Culture is a recently discovered photograph of Harriet Tubman. An unusual look at Tubman in her younger years, the photo offers a new perspective on the rarely photographed freedom fighter. It’s also exactly the type of object Rhea Combs looks for when she puts together exhibitions.

“In most images of Harriet Tubman, she’s in her 80s, 90s. She’s feeble-looking,” Combs says. Finding the photo of a younger Tubman made her full humanity clearer. Looking at this new

artifact, she says, “I can understand how this woman could get people to move and fight for their own freedom.”

As a curator at the museum, tickets to which consistently sell out, Combs searches for quotidian items that might stretch museumgoers’ common understanding of history. After years in academia, she was compelled to bring her research out of the ivory tower and into the public. The images and films that make up Combs’ research help her to identify visual through lines in history, as with an exhibition on photography in hip-hop in which she paired images of contemporary artists, like Queen Latifah, that mirrored artists from the past, like the Harlem Renaissance entertainer Gladys Bentley.

Another of Combs’ prized photographs depicts the civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer, who helped organize Mississippi’s Freedom Summer, smiling with her husband. Most people who know of Hamer picture her at work. But there is value in the in-between, says Combs. “It’s within those everyday moments that we better understand who those people were, and how we can become agents within history making as well.” —M.G.

## Nikesh Shukla

Writer, editor of  
*The Good Immigrant*



When Nikesh Shukla was shopping around his first novel, a white agent told the British-Indian author his characters were not “authentically Asian enough.” Another declined because they had plans to work with another Indian writer. “I was like, ‘We can write about different stuff,’” he recalls. His novel was eventually published, but he knew he wasn’t alone in this struggle.

Now, he wants people of color to write the stories they’ve always wanted to tell. In the collection *The Good Immigrant*, he compiled 15 essays from minority writers that explore the impacts of being othered in the country you call home. But, he says, “Not all writers of color want to write about race. They want to write sci-fi or creative nonfiction about beekeeping.” So Shukla launched *The Good Journal*, a magazine that invites minority writers to share stories beyond the scope of race or immigration.

Shukla’s next subjects—love and joy—might not seem radical. But to him, they are. “The revolutionary, joyful act is writing about brown people in love,” he says. “We never get to see that.” —M.G.



Jason Moran and the Bandwagon play alongside skateboarder Chuck Treece



## Jason Moran and Q-Tip

*Artistic director of jazz and artistic director of hip-hop at the Kennedy Center*

In the four years since Jason Moran became the artistic director of jazz at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, he's built a skate park on its steps, paired stand-up comedy with abstract jazz performances and facilitated live painting at concerts. In short, he's shown one of the nation's most prominent cultural institutions what a living, breathing American art form can look like in real time.

"Part of my role as a curator is to make sure the sensibilities are diverse enough, that we aren't just presenting one thing," says the pianist and composer, a 2010 recipient of a MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant. "It's about informing the institution that there have been major gaps, things that you could frankly say they have ignored in the past."

Moran's push to recognize diverse voices in jazz is paralleled by the efforts of Q-Tip, A Tribe Called Quest's philosophical MC and producer, who was named the center's inaugural artistic director

of hip-hop culture in 2016.

The rapper, a champion of socially conscious hip-hop, regards his role as not only a curator but also a historian. "We take a view of the landscape in not only hip-hop culture, but what's happening socially and nationally," he says.

His innovations so far include a concert during which the rapper Nas performed alongside the National Symphony Orchestra and the formation of a Hip Hop Culture Council. But he's most excited about an award, still in the works, that will be bestowed upon hip-hop artists, akin to the center's prestigious annual Mark Twain Prize for American Humor. The honor feels especially poignant considering that for a long time, the genre was not recognized as an elevated art form—a perception that's now shifting, in part thanks to Q-Tip's efforts. "It's all about a consistency and dedication to the culture," he says. "Through those things, there's a truth in what you do." —Cady Lang



*"It's about informing the institution that there have been major gaps, things that you could frankly say they have ignored in the past."*

## Damian Woetzel

*President of the Juilliard School*

Damian Woetzel is overflowing with ideas for ways Juilliard's students can engage with the world around them. The



former New York City Ballet principal dancer, who spent 23 years with the company before retiring in 2008, has made outreach and collaboration hallmarks of his leadership since taking over the prestigious school in July 2018.

For more than 100 years, Juilliard has trained performing artists who lead their fields around the world. This is not a responsibility Woetzel takes lightly. Juilliard has a long tradition of viewing the artist as citizen. The idea, he says, is to create artists who use their art to impact their communities. Instrumental to this goal is the assurance that the artists Juilliard sends back out into their communities come from a wide range of communities themselves. This summer, Juilliard will host a program for under-represented string players with the Sphinx Organization, a Detroit nonprofit. As they're trying to improve the world through art, Woetzel wants his students to remember: "Artistic ability is far greater than opportunity, and that is something we all need to work at." —A.A.



EJ Hill in his installation *Excellentia*, Mollitia, Victoria



## Erin Christovale

*Assistant curator at the Hammer Museum*

Less than a decade into her career, Erin Christovale is a regular on “young curators to watch” lists. She has been recognized within the art world for her annual film program and a 2016 show at the Los Angeles Municipal Art Gallery about citizenship and democracy, among other work. But despite all the buzz, Christovale is focused on a central mission: engaging people who have never set foot in a museum before. And so far, they’re showing up.

Christovale traces her curatorial approach to her time as a film student at the University of Southern California. She remembers one particular discussion about how the 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* helped foment a revival of the Ku Klux Klan. “Film is the most widely distributed form of visual media, and it has the capacity to shift society’s thinking and be a political tool,” she says. So after graduating, she began organizing film programming and exhibits, highlighting work by emerging queer artists and artists of color, before being named an assistant curator at UCLA’s Hammer Museum.

Last summer, Christovale co-curated the Hammer’s “Made in L.A.” exhibition, which included more than 30 diverse artists from the city. One work, by EJ Hill, had a particular impact. As part of his installation, Hill stood on a podium every day with no breaks. As a queer black man, his presence was a physical declaration of resilience. While performance art can often alienate, Hill’s piece resonated. “People would burst into tears. People would bring him fruit and flowers and sing to him,” Christovale recalls. “It’s so simple. When you offer space in which people can see themselves reflected in the work, then they will come.” —W.D.



“It’s so simple.  
When you offer  
space in which  
people can see  
themselves  
reflected in the  
work, then they  
will come.”



## Bird Runningwater

*Director of the Native Program at Sundance*

It takes about 30 minutes to drive from the Mescalero Apache Reservation in rural New Mexico to the closest movie theater. In the 1970s, Bird Runningwater and his father relished their trips there to see popular films like *Rocky*.

But it wasn’t long before he realized his heritage wasn’t represented onscreen, and he stopped going to the movies. Decades later, that disappointed child has grown up to become part of the solution. As director of the Native Program at the Sundance Institute, he supports and solicits indigenous filmmakers to present their work at the Sundance Film Festival and beyond.

Runningwater’s childhood gripe still holds true. “Native Americans are invisible in American culture,” he says. “Because we have a visibility issue, we have to establish the narrative.” To him, that means owning the storytelling process rather than seeing stories told from the outside.

Change in Hollywood is slow. But Runningwater hopes that when the next generation on his reservation travels to the theater, they’ll see someone they identify with onscreen.

—RACHEL E. GREENSPAN



## Rujeko Hockley

*Assistant curator at the Whitney Museum*

In the spring of 2017, the Biennial exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art became a site of controversy when a painting by a white artist, Dana Schutz, depicting the mutilated body of Emmett Till sparked protests about institutional racism in the art world. Just two months after the Biennial ended, Rujeko Hockley, who had just taken a role at the storied museum of American art, co-curated her first exhibition there, “An Incomplete History of Protest.” Rather than shy away from the still smoldering controversy, Hockley and her colleagues made a bold choice: including the Whitney’s own history as a place of protest in the exhibit, with documents and letters from the museum’s archives.

To Hockley, we can’t fully engage with art without understanding the circumstances under which it was created. “I don’t want to talk about the rise of minimalism in the 1960s without also talking about the lead-up

to the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement,” she says. Throughout her career, Hockley has assembled politically potent exhibits. Her 2017 Brooklyn Museum show, “We Wanted a Revolution: Black Radical Women, 1965–85,” showcased art made by black women during the rise of the second-wave feminist movement. Her goal is to show people that *art history* and *history* are one and the same. She urges museumgoers to consider not just the artwork but also the artists’ experiences.



“Artists don’t live in a vacuum, and they don’t make in a vacuum,” she says. “So it doesn’t make sense to have an art history that doesn’t take into account world-changing events.”

Next up, Hockley will co-curate the Whitney’s 2019 Biennial. The 2017 protests might make someone in her position nervous. But she sees them as confirmation of the value of museums. “People really do care about museums and look to the arts for guidance,” she says. And while curators must be responsible for what they put out in the world, Hockley says, “It doesn’t mean we have to be gun-shy. Just more thoughtful.” —W.D.

*A scene from the Whitney’s 2017 exhibit “An Incomplete History of Protest”*



## Kevin Young

*Director of the Schomburg Center and poetry editor of the New Yorker*



In 1925, two New York City institutions were founded: the *New Yorker* and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Nearly a

century later, poet Kevin Young holds leading posts at both. His aim: to make people care about words and the history behind them.

This might sound daunting in the America of 2019, as urgent news breaks hourly and dire headlines announce the decline of libraries and attention spans alike. But for Young, those realities make this a perfect time to appreciate poetry and art. Both his jobs allow him to dig through the past to understand the present. “I’m not an archivist by training,” he says. “But by temperament, I love thinking about history and how it talks to now.”

Young’s love for the past is in part inspired by his family history, which goes back hundreds of years in Louisiana. When he visited as a child, he felt connected to the generations of family rooted there. “It makes you want to know about the past but also sometimes to escape it. That combination really drives me,” he says. “Thinking about how we can know more about the past and also fighting that impulse to say we’re past it is really important.” —A.A.



# ARTISTS AT EVERY AGE

A look at creativity  
across the decades

## PORTFOLIO BY DJENEBA ADUAYOM FOR TIME

HOW DOES AN ARTIST KEEP HER creative vision alive? It's a concern not just for painters and poets who have been at work for decades; an artist's vision can be tested at any point in life. For the nine people photographed in this portfolio by Djeneba Aduayom—from an 18-year-old poet to a 94-year-old actor—what keeps them at work is the possibility of connecting with others.

Finding new ways to forge those connections can be a challenge, though, since life rarely follows a straight line. That's something Aduayom understands all too well: after dancing with musicians like Prince and Tina Turner, Aduayom fell and injured herself while on tour in 2010. Hip and knee surgery marked the end of her dance career. "Imagine having what you love most taken away from you," she says. "I had to find something equally powerful."

Aduayom found that in photography. "When I was looking through a viewfinder, I was completely in the zone," she says. She invested in a camera and taught herself to shoot. "It helped me connect with people in a different way, through a lens rather than on the stage," she says.

Each portrait is an effort to understand the artist's creative process, Aduayom says. "All these artists have different realities. I wanted to capture something in their universe, how they see the world, and how it relates to their art." Sharing their art with the world is essential to their persistence: creation fosters optimism not only in the artist. It helps to spread it too.

—NAINA BAJEKAL



## KINSALE HUESTON POET | 18

*"My poetry empowers my activism.*

***My poetry is a way for me to become more visible*** and, by doing so, create room for people who share my identity. *It gives me a voice and a platform."*



“When I listen to music I am inspired by, I tend to daydream about the movement, to almost see it in a calligraphic way. **Dance is very freeing. On a stage or in a studio I am able to give that freedom to others.**”

**JEFFREY CIRIO** DANCER | 27





*“Even though  
there are a lot  
of dark things  
going on in the  
world, **a lot  
of beautiful,  
magical things  
are brewing  
under the  
surface.**”*







**HANK WILLIS THOMAS** CONCEPTUAL VISUAL ARTIST | 42

***“I believe that every artist is inherently an optimist,*** because you are making something the world is not asking you to make, with the belief that someone, somewhere will care about it.”



***“Making art is about human beings communicating to each other to say, ‘This is who we are’—and to say we are a we: I have someone to talk to, someone is listening or looking.”***

**ELIZABETH ALEXANDER** POET | 56





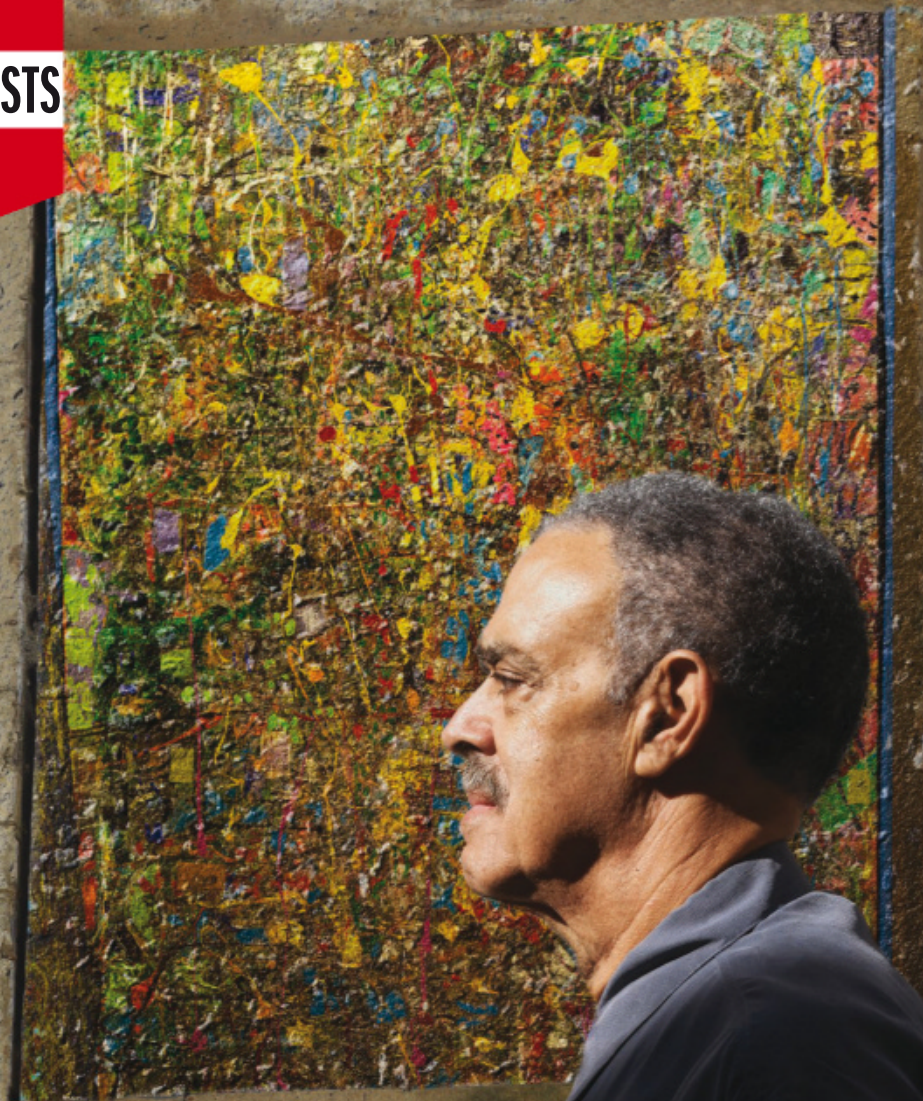


**JENNY HOLZER** CONCEPTUAL VISUAL ARTIST | 68

*"I am pretty convinced the sky is falling all the time, so I think it's worthwhile to point to that and occasionally offer a solution."*

***I am a fan of the sublime, even though she is very elusive."***





**LOUIS DELSARTE** PAINTER | 74

*"I try to give my work toward peace, to say that art is the meaning of love, that living on earth is a spiritual quest. **I try to elevate the spirit of man and the spirit of humanity.**"*



*"I don't ever stop painting in my mind.  
**When I am in bed, unable to sleep,  
I see paint moving across the ceiling**  
and imagine it spilling and pouring as it  
flows through the nooks and cracks."*

**FRANK BOWLING** PAINTER | 84





THE  
OPTIMISTS





A close-up of a woman's hand with a ring and red nails, resting on a red surface. The background is a solid red color.

**CICELY TYSON** ACTOR | 94

***“I am the sum total of each one of the women I have played. That they were able to survive the times, and the way in which they did it, made me a stronger person and allowed me to truly believe that all things are possible.”***



Poem

# NAVEL

---

By *Robin Coste Lewis*

We crawled out of her navel  
one by one, then waited  
until we were all here.

That lucid moment when  
the last wet child learned to stand,  
we began walking.

We walked slowly.  
We took some time.  
We took more than that.

When we began to grow  
hungry, some offered to turn  
themselves into animals.

Smiling, they said, Here, eat me.  
Others turned into water, rivers, trees.  
Some turned themselves to dirt

so we could walk a path. We crept  
toward the edges, clawed and crawled to the top  
of the world, and there we clung.

Instead of a mouth, a woman  
spoke through a vibrant yellow  
bill. Sometimes we visited the man

on the moon. Sometimes he let us  
inside his house. Sometimes  
his transparent hollow wife would dance.

Later, when people asked us,  
Where did you come from?  
We could only answer *water*.

A whole language comprised  
of just one word. We walked  
onto the water. We built houses

on the water. We had babies  
on the water. We sewed clothes  
made of water with needles made of ice.

The night so constant  
changed us. The planets  
taught us a vocabulary

without any alphabet.  
The trees began to walk.  
At night, the ocean glowed

green from underneath.  
Our roofs were made of whale  
ribs, our lamps were stone

that burned clear oil. And now  
I've turned my face into this page  
so we could sit here together again.

---

*Lewis is the poet laureate of Los Angeles and the author of  
Voyage of the Sable Venus, which won the 2015 National Book Award for Poetry*





*SWEET RAISINS*

*CRUNCHY BRAN FLAKES*

***PLOT TWIST***  
*WE ADDED BANANA SLICES*

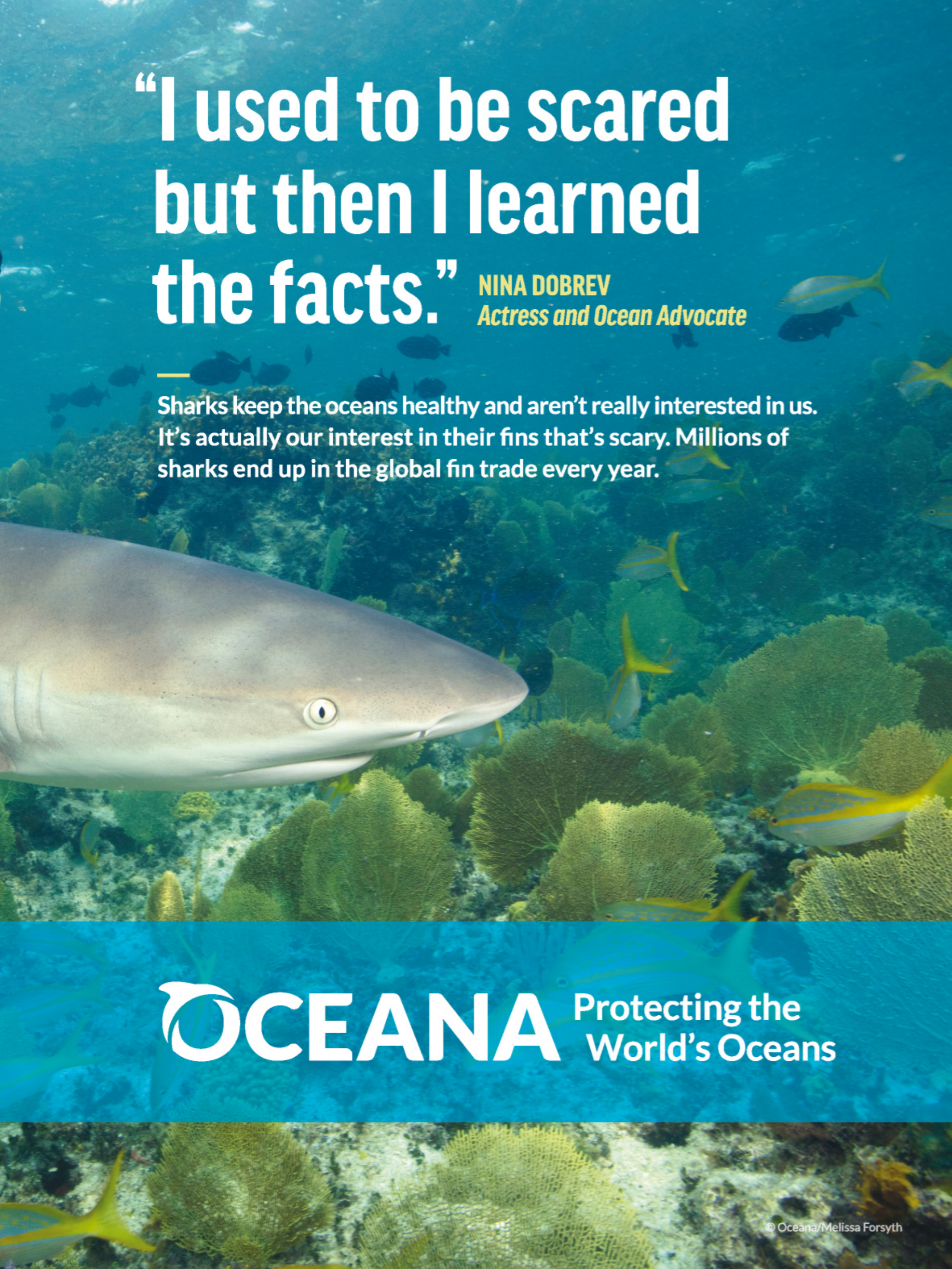






Visit [oceana.org/savesharks](https://oceana.org/savesharks) to see more from Nina and learn how you can help protect these vital ocean animals.



An underwater photograph of a shark swimming over a vibrant coral reef. The shark is in the lower-left foreground, facing right. The reef is covered in various types of coral, including large, rounded, yellowish-green ones. Several small, yellow-striped fish are swimming around the reef. The water is clear and blue.

**“I used to be scared  
but then I learned  
the facts.”**

**NINA DOBREV**  
*Actress and Ocean Advocate*

Sharks keep the oceans healthy and aren't really interested in us. It's actually our interest in their fins that's scary. Millions of sharks end up in the global fin trade every year.

**OCEANA** Protecting the  
World's Oceans



# ADVANCED HEARING AID TECHNOLOGY

## For Less Than \$200

Try it **RISK-FREE** for 45 days!  
*Complete Refund Guarantee!*

**How can a hearing aid that costs less than \$200** be every bit as good as one that sells for \$2,250 or more?

**The answer:** Although tremendous strides have been made in Advanced Hearing Aid Technology, those cost reductions have not been passed on to you. Until now...

**MDHearingAid®** uses the same kind of Advanced Hearing Aid Technology incorporated into hearing aids that cost thousands more at a small fraction of the price.

Over 300,000 satisfied **MDHearingAid** customers agree: High-quality, FDA-registered hearing aids don't have to cost a fortune. The fact is, you don't need to spend thousands for a hearing aid. **MDHearingAid** is a medical-grade hearing aid offering sophistication and high performance, and works right out of the box with no time-consuming "adjustment" appointments. You can contact a licensed hearing specialist conveniently online or by phone — even after your purchase at no cost. No other company provides such extensive support. Now that you know...why pay more?

**MDHearingAid®** >>>

DOCTOR DESIGNED | AUDIOLOGIST TESTED | FDA REGISTERED



***"This is truly a miracle... I don't even know how to begin thanking you for giving me my life back!"***

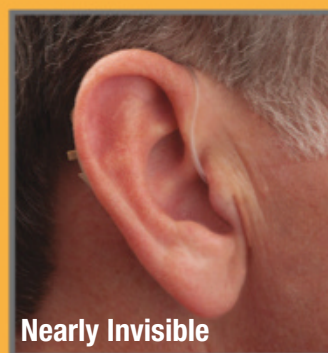
— Sherri H., Granville, NY

### TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR 45-DAY RISK-FREE TRIAL!

Hearing is believing and we invite you to try this nearly invisible hearing aid with no annoying whistling or background noise for yourself. If you are not completely satisfied with your MDHearingAid, return it within 45 days for a **FULL REFUND**.

**For the Lowest Price Call  
1-800-675-9962**

[www.GetMDHearingAid200.com](http://www.GetMDHearingAid200.com)



Nearly Invisible

**BUY A PAIR  
AND SAVE.**

**BATTERIES  
INCLUDED!**  
READY TO USE RIGHT  
OUT OF THE BOX!

Use Code **JF41**  
and get **FREE** Batteries for 1 Year  
**Plus** **FREE** Shipping

Proudly assembled in America!





# TimeOff



**FANTASTIC RIDE**  
Man Booker  
Prize-winning  
author Marlon  
James changes  
lanes with an epic  
new trilogy

## INSIDE

*BRO COUNTRY IS HERE TO STAY,  
THANKS TO FLORIDA GEORGIA LINE*

*AN IRRESISTIBLE NEW ROM-COM  
MAKES ROOM FOR THE HATERS*

*AFTERLIFE COMEDIES THAT  
APPEAL TO OUR BETTER ANGELS*

PHOTOGRAPH BY IKE EDEANI FOR TIME



## BOOKS

# A literary king conquers fantasy

By Lucy Feldman

**A**LITTLE MORE THAN THREE YEARS AGO, Marlon James made a comment he now insists was a joke. The acclaimed Jamaican author, fresh from winning the Man Booker Prize for his novel *A Brief History of Seven Killings*, told a reporter that his next project would be an “African *Game of Thrones*.” James underestimated the buzz the comparison would stir up, and soon enough, multiple outlets published breathless stories about the diverse epic fantasy he had promised. Now, on the eve of that novel’s release, James laughs when he considers just how far his offhand comment traveled: an email arrived in his inbox from George R.R. Martin, the man behind the massively popular fantasy series. Sitting at his office desk in Brooklyn, dressed in a black one-piece tracksuit, James sets down his yogurt and pulls up the message: “I was flattered by the mention,” James reads aloud, his deep voice rasping into a chuckle. “I think it’s a project well worth doing. I look forward to reading it one of these days.”

It turns out that James’ new epic, *Black Leopard, Red Wolf*, which hits shelves on Feb. 5 and kicks off a trilogy, does resemble Martin’s series, in a few key ways: each features warring royals, deadly beasts and plenty of graphic sex scenes and bloody battles. James says he even “cheated”—his word—and studied how Martin crafts violent sequences with mythical creatures.

But James’ book is set in a distant-past Africa and filled with queer characters of color inspired by the continent’s history and mythology. And it joins the ranks of those by authors like Tomi Adeyemi and N.K. Jemisin, whose works push back against stereotypes about the types of figures who “should” appear in fantasy fiction. There’s no Jon Snow in the world James created: “I wasn’t trying to write some noble warrior walking through the bush,” he says. Tracker, the protagonist, is a man whose sense of smell reveals the whereabouts and recent deeds of those he encounters. He’s deeply flawed—brash, violent and distrustful of love—and brings those qualities with him as he searches for a mysterious missing child.

The novel challenges the notion that there are lines to be drawn between literature and genre fiction. Some British publishers rejected the book, saying it’s “too sci-fi for the literary crowd and too literary for the sci-fi crowd,” a judgment that James wholeheartedly disdains. “The idea that somebody who reads, say, Octavia Butler can’t read Toni Morrison is absolutely ludicrous,” he says.

And a writer can channel them both in a single work. Breaking down those boundaries has helped James thrive: *Black Leopard* is his first book since *A Brief History*, his fictionalization of a real 1976 assassination attempt on Bob Marley—which he saw as an experiment

with another genre, crime fiction—took home one of literature’s most prestigious prizes and became a paperback best seller. James’ Booker win, the first by a Jamaican author, catapulted him to literary stardom.

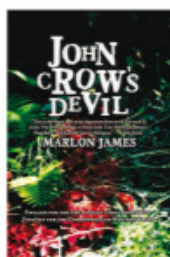
At 620 pages, *Black Leopard* is an ambitious undertaking, even for readers used to Martin’s dense prose and meandering storytelling. James himself acknowledges that his books can be challenging. *A Brief History* had more than 70 characters, and many spoke in Jamaican patois. His new novel has more than 80 and often leaves the reader with half a thought to carry through pages and pages before finally uniting it with its other half. “I take a lot of risks,” James says. “When I throw the reader into the deep end, I just have this faith they’re going to find their way back.”

The next two books in the *Dark Star Trilogy* will tell the same story from other perspectives. The second, which he’s currently plotting, will follow a witch from the first book. Who tells the third, James gleefully declares, is a secret. At the end of the trilogy, the reader will have to decide which narrator, if any, is telling the truth—a nod to the African storytelling tradition wherein tricksters’ stories must be taken with a grain of salt. “Seeing sometimes doesn’t depend on the object,” James says. “It depends on the eyes.”

**JAMES, NOW 48**, was raised in a suburb of Kingston, Jamaica, the son of a police inspector mother and a police officer turned lawyer father. Both of his parents encouraged him to read, and growing up, he rewrote the ends of *The Incredible Hulk* episodes so Bruce Banner could finally catch a break, and journaled about his own life starting at age 16. He studied literature at the University of the West Indies and worked as a graphic designer, among other jobs.

Before his writing career took off, he threw himself into evangelical Christianity in order to bury a secret: he was gay, in a country that was—and despite improvements, still is—plagued with homophobia. He would eventually undergo a voluntary “exorcism,” an “ex-gay” ritual that saw him praying and vomiting for hours as he attempted to rid himself of so-called demons. It made

### The Marlon James library



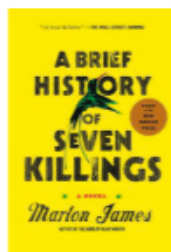
#### JOHN CROW'S DEVIL

Two men in a fictional Jamaican town vie for religious leadership



#### THE BOOK OF NIGHT WOMEN

A woman born into slavery must decide whether to join a revolt



#### A BRIEF HISTORY OF SEVEN KILLINGS

Conspirators plan the murder of a singer based on Bob Marley



#### BLACK LEOPARD, RED WOLF

A slaver hires a team to battle mythic beasts and find a lost boy





## Top shelf

James' five favorite novels run the gamut from classic romance to magical realism: *Shame* by Salman Rushdie, *The Master & Margarita* by Mikhail Bulgakov, *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen, *Dogeaters* by Jessica Hagedorn and *Song of Solomon* by Toni Morrison

him feel better—but only briefly.

But before that, when he was 31, he read Toni Morrison's *Sula*, and it offered an epiphany—in the form of a three-word line—that would come to shape his outlook. The unrepentant Sula, who is on her deathbed, is asked what she has to show for her life choices. Sula responds, *Show? To who?* “And man, I don’t have a lot of fall-off-the-chair moments, but I had a fall-off-the-chair moment right there,” James says. “It just hit me: There’s nothing about what I want to do in life that I have to get permission for. When it comes to being who I am, I don’t have an allegiance or a duty to anybody.” Morrison’s words gave him the validation he never found at church.

Five years later, in 2007, after he published his first novel, James moved to the U.S. to teach at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn. Eight years and two more books after that, he published an essay in the *New York Times Magazine* about the experience of becoming his most authentic self, publicly declaring his sexuality for the first time.

When James won the Booker, a tabloid sent reporters to Jamaica to see if he’d ever been a victim of homophobic

violence. “I guess they didn’t believe me when I said no,” says James, who is currently applying for U.S. citizenship. He was never attacked—his reasons for leaving were about his own feelings. Even so, when he returned to Jamaica after winning the award to speak at his alma mater, he was scared. But while some same-sex sexual activity is still outlawed and attitudes toward LGBTQ

people can be hostile, he was celebrated. When he went to meet queer students with his “it gets better” speech at the ready, they couldn’t have been less interested. “They were like, ‘We don’t want to hear that sh-t. Do you know Beyoncé?’” he says. “I was so amazed to see a generation of queer young people defending the right to be young.”

**‘When it comes to being who I am, I don’t have an allegiance or a duty to anybody.’**

MARLON JAMES

**JAMES STEPS OUT** for a moment to collect his lunch delivery—chicken satay—then returns to his desk, still decorated with sticky-note reminders from the writing process. He lists some of the hundreds of texts he consulted over two years of research for *Black Leopard*: books, articles, epics, archeological reports, primary source materials—some in languages he doesn’t speak—and legends from around the world. His new novel is populated with

characters who are gay, trans and gender fluid—but largely because, he was surprised and validated to learn, many of the figures in the African histories he studied were queer. “It looks like I was being, ‘Yay for intersectionality.’ It turns out, no,” he says. He also wanted to honor the reservoir of African legends so often overlooked, so he pulled mythological creatures directly from their sources and placed them in his world.

But for anyone tempted to describe the effort as a direct rebuttal to Western genre tropes, James is quick to reiterate that many of the book’s influences also come from European lore—everything from tales of the Vikings to the Wars of the Roses. And he presses that he’s not on a mission to invert anything.

He’s just doing his own thing within the fantasy genre—the same way he’s doing his own thing with his career, defying those who would say a writer with his background “should” write about certain topics. He writes like he reads, and relishes discovering novels by black authors that wouldn’t have been published a decade ago. But labels aren’t as limiting as they once were, he adds. “I think or at least hope that a phrase like *black writer* or *Caribbean writer* comes with a whole set of expectations that it didn’t have 20 years ago,” he says. “One being that you should expect anything from us.” □



## MUSIC

### Walking the line between country and pop

By Maura Johnston

FOR A LARGE CHUNK OF THE 2010S, country music was defined by the bro. The stadium-rocking, beer-chugging subgenre dominated radio and arenas, thanks to the popularity of artists like Luke Bryan and Jason Aldean. Characterized by copious “Southern” signifiers (trucks, girls, nights out with the guys) and elements of modern-day hip-hop (drum machines, gruffly pattered vocals), these bro-country songs have the type of sonic power you might expect from a Def Leppard album.

Brian Kelley and Tyler Hubbard were at the forefront of the movement. As Florida Georgia Line, the duo—who met while studying at the Nashville-star factory Belmont University—struck platinum right away with their debut single “Cruise.” A summery showcase for their classic-country harmonies and blunt-force hooks, it was a country-radio hit that mushroomed into a crossover smash after the St. Louis rapper Nelly was added to the mix, eventually peaking at No. 4 on the Hot 100.

Since then—particularly once Taylor Swift fully decamped to the pop world in 2014—FGL has become the most dominant country crossover act in music, known for its own muscular singles and collaborations with mainstream acts like Backstreet Boys and Hailee Steinfeld; “Meant to Be,” their swaying single with Bebe Rexha, landed at No. 3 on last year’s Hot 100. The pair has diversified beyond selling out stadiums too, lending its name to the Nashville watering hole FGL House, the Southern-accented Old Camp Whiskey and a “creative compound” in Music City that includes a co-working space, the pair’s publishing and artist development company and a store.

Florida Georgia Line’s place in country is mostly solid, even if bro country is viewed as a bit passé in 2019. The genre’s Solo-cup-borne excesses have been gently ribbed by the likes of Brad Paisley and Maddie & Tae; artists like Sam Hunt and Kane Brown now routinely add hip-hop



It takes two: Kelley and Hubbard preside over a bro-country empire

beats to their hooks. Men do still dominate country radio; last year, *Billboard*’s Country Airplay Top 10 was made up of all male artists. But female artists like Ashley McBryde and the Pistol Annies led country critics’ year-end lists, while Maren Morris and Kacey Musgraves toured with pop stars like One Direction alums Niall Horan and Harry Styles as they established crossover success on their own terms.

**THAT MIGHT BE** why *Can’t Say I Ain’t Country* adds a bit of a defensive posture to FGL’s swagger. The album doesn’t open with a tender ballad or a boot-stomping rocker but with a skit: “Tyler Got Him a Tesla” features a drawling regular-Joe character who pops up throughout the record—sharing gossip about Hubbard’s purchase of the high-priced electric vehicle, proof that

he’s become too big for his britches.

Skits aside, most of *Can’t Say I Ain’t Country* is pleasant, with finely honed hooks, gleaming vocal harmonies, and lyrics that split the difference between sappy love songs and country-strong anthems. “People Are Different,” which calls for unity “no matter what shape, no matter what color,” means well but comes across as naive in the current moment. “Simple” contrasts the quiet pleasures of being in love with the whirl of Instagram, and its blend of jangly mandolins and whistling-wind effects appropriately recalls the amped-up folk-pop that ruled festivals a few years back; the slow dance “Women” invites R&B crooner Jason Derulo along for the ride, his sky-brushing falsetto adding sweetness to FGL’s processed chorus. And then there are the clearest distillations of the duo’s we’re-still-country message: the shimmying “Small Town,” for those who have “been cow tippin’ in a big green pasture,” and the storming Aldean collaboration “Can’t Hide Red,” on which they claim they “don’t ever wanna, ain’t ever gonna change.” The crossover-heavy nature of FGL’s career suggests that might not entirely be true—although the guest-light, brawn-heavy *Can’t Say I Ain’t Country* is, at least, an all-in effort to convince listeners otherwise.





# This Necklace is NOT for Sale...

## It's yours for *FREE*\*

*No kidding. Only Stauer can give you  
200 carats of genuine amethyst for NOTHING.*

*"This necklace is  
beautiful. I could  
not believe my  
eyes...GREAT!"*

—Bonnie  
Longs, S. C.

**FREE Amethyst Necklace**  
Limited to the first 2500 responders  
to this ad only!

You may think you understood the concept of "priceless" jewelry. For years, "priceless" meant "astronomically expensive." Owning "priceless" treasures was a rare privilege reserved for celebrities, billionaires, and royalty. The best most of us could do was dream. Until now...

Stauer smashes the luxury status quo with the release of our **FREE\*** **200-Carat Lusso Amethyst Necklace**. That's right, we said **FREE...** as in "priceless." No charge.\* **ZERO dollars.\*** Call now and we'll send you this impressive helping of genuine amethyst (independently appraised at \$295) for **FREE**. We cut the price 100% and you pay only \$24.95, our regular charge for shipping, processing and insurance...we'll even **pay you back with a \$25 Discount Certificate—that's Better Than Free shipping!** There are no tricks or gimmicks. You aren't obligated to spend another dime or dollar with us... although we make it **VERY** hard to resist.

**Why give away jewelry?** We want your attention. Once you get a closer look at our rare gemstone treasures and vintage-inspired watches, and once you discover the guilt-free fun of getting luxury for less, we're betting that you'll fall in love with Stauer. If not? Keep your **FREE Lusso Amethyst Necklace** anyway. No hard feelings.

**A collection of purple perfection.** Your **Lusso Amethyst Necklace** is a 200-carat symphony of smooth purple genuine gemstones. Each gemstone's shape and translucence ignites the velvety, violet hues. The polished amethysts are hand-strung on double-knotted jeweler's thread, and the stunning 18" necklace (with 2" extender) secures with a gold-finished lobster clasp. Once you wear it, you'll see that it hangs with the same weight and elegance as similar strands that sell for hundreds more.

**Too good to pass up. Too good to last long.** Amethyst is one of the world's most coveted gemstones and our supply is extremely limited. We can only offer such an outrageous deal for a short time every few years. Over 30,000 thrilled customers were lucky enough to get this promotion last time. **We only have about 2500 left in stock.** Call to reserve your **FREE Lusso Amethyst Necklace** today and treat yourself (or someone you love) to a brilliant new definition of priceless luxury!

**Lusso Amethyst Necklace** (200 ctw) ~~\$249\*\*~~

Your Cost With Offer Code— **FREE\***

\*pay only shipping & processing of \$24.95.

You must use the offer code below to receive this special free necklace.

**1-800-333-2045**

**Offer Code LAN415-02**  
Mention this code for the free necklace.



Rating of A+



**200 carats of pure luxury**  
**independently appraised at \$295†...yours FREE!\***

**200 ctw of genuine amethyst • Gold-finished spacers • 18" + 2" length necklace**

\* This offer is valid in the United States (and Puerto Rico) except in TX, FL, CO, OK, RI, NH, WV, OR, SC, VA, ID and CA. These state residents will be charged one cent (\$.01) + shipping & processing for the item. Void where prohibited or restricted by law. Offer subject to state and local regulations. Not valid with any other offers and only while supplies last. This offer is limited to one item per shipping address. \*\* Free is only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code. † For more information concerning the appraisal, visit <http://www.stauer.com/appraisedvalues.asp>.

Necklace enlarged to  
show luxurious detail.

**Stauer®** 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. LAN415-02,  
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 [www.stauer.com](http://www.stauer.com)

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices™





Wilson and Hemsworth: a match made, possibly, in rom-com heaven

## MOVIES

### A rom-com that will win over even the haters

By Stephanie Zacharek

THERE ARE TWO NEW YORK CITIES, the real one and the movie one, and both have a place in Todd Strauss-Schulson's goofy-delightful *Isn't It Romantic*. The movie opens and closes in the real New York, a stinky, noisy collage of 99¢ stores and food carts adorned with unappetizing falafel photos, a place where it often seems impossible to find love. The New York in the middle section is a fantasyland of dainty cupcake stores and flower-covered brick townhouses—this is surely the place where love is meant to happen.

That's where it almost does for Natalie (Rebel Wilson), an architect toiling away at a firm that doesn't appreciate her. Her assistant (played by the marvelous Betty Gilpin) spends most of the workday streaming 1980s- and '90s-era romantic comedies; Natalie lectures her not for watching movies on the job but for buying into the unrealistic fantasies they present. (Natalie herself has watched them all, repeatedly.)

Then, after fending off an old-school New York mugger, Natalie slams into a

subway-station beam—and wakes up in her own hyperclichéed version of the comedies she's been deriding: there's the sexy businessman suitor (Liam Hemsworth), the supermodel-caliber romantic rival (Priyanka Chopra), the ostentatiously gay BFF neighbor (Brandon Scott Jones) and the cute co-worker she's never really taken seriously before (Adam DeVine).

The gimmick, a lovely one, is that Wilson's Natalie isn't happy in this sunbeam world. But even if she mocks her false surroundings mercilessly, and delectably, she can't fully resist their allure. There's singing and dancing and, ultimately, the most important kind of falling in love. Wilson is terrific: Natalie may suffer from certain insecurities, but she resists insufferable self-pity. *Isn't It Romantic*, written by Erin Cardillo, Dana Fox and Katie Silberman, is also smart enough to show how the two New Yorks often blur, this time in a riotous dance sequence in front of the truly grand Grand Central Terminal. It's ridiculous, and it's wonderful. Falling in love is stupid like that. □

## MOVIES

### The Lego Movie sequel doesn't build to much

Phil Lord and Christopher Miller's *The Lego Movie*, released in 2014, is a tough act to follow: Nobody expected an animated adventure featuring characters made from plastic blocks to be any good. But the picture was amusing in its peculiarly dotty way, a kooky anticapitalist parable that left you feeling as if you'd just spent 100 minutes inside a popcorn popper.

The bad news is that *The Lego Movie 2: The Second Part*, written by Lord and Miller but directed by Mike Mitchell, is more of the same—yet less. Chris Pratt returns as the voice of Lego everyman hero Emmet Brickowski. This time he has to save his true love, alleged tough girl Wyldstyle (Elizabeth Banks), from a kidnapping scheme hatched by a shape-shifting minx mastermind from another building-block galaxy, Queen Watevra Wa'Nabi (Tiffany Haddish). What, exactly, does the queen have in mind? And what does she want from Batman (Will Arnett), whom she has also whisked off to her lair? The plot takes some pleasingly sinister twists—the queen's brainwashing methods involve sparkles and catchy pop songs—but the story's resolution is disappointingly tame. Everything was awesome. Just not anymore.

—S.Z.



ISN'T IT ROMANTIC: THE LEGO MOVIE 2: WARNER BROS. (2)



MOVIES

## More charisma might have thawed *Cold Pursuit*

IF YOU'RE GOING TO MOUNT AN AMERICAN remake of a Norwegian film about a father who avenges the death of his son with the help of a giant snowplow, whom else would you cast but Liam Neeson? Forget, for a moment, that he's Irish: His features, resolute and precise as the cliffs rising high above your average fjord, may as well have been carved from the movement of ancient glaciers. Plus, when it comes to fatherly revenge-getters, he's still the go-to guy. (Though it remains to be seen if Hollywood's goodwill toward him will survive his recent controversy.)

But even though *Cold Pursuit* (the remake) and *In Order of Disappearance* (the original) were both made by the same gifted director, Hans Petter Moland, much of the earlier film's icy-cool elegance—and dry, grisly humor—has been lost in translation. Neeson plays Nels Coxman, a workingman living on the outskirts of a remote resort town in the Rocky Mountains; his job is to clear a path through the area's earlobe-high snow so the town's residents can rejoin civilization whenever they need to. After his son is murdered by thugs working for a gut-health-obsessed Denver drug bigwig, Viking (Tom Bateman), Nels sets

out to pick off the baddies one by one. Unwittingly, he also stirs up trouble between Viking's outfit and a rival operation, run by a group of Native Americans and led by a principled old-school kingpin, White Bull (Tom Jackson). He has no patience for the whippersnapper millennial criminal Viking, and the dueling gangs' acts of vengeance pile up rapidly.

The first half works beautifully; it's a pleasure, albeit the wicked kind, to watch Nels track down Viking's lowlife underlings and mete out his shivery, brutal punishments. He disposes of the bodies by sending them down a colossal waterfall, whooshing into eternity beneath a canopy of nighttime sky. It's such a gorgeously poetic visual that you don't know whether to gasp or laugh.

But *Cold Pursuit* loses its punch in the second half. (The original script, by Kim Fupz Aakeson, has been retooled, though not necessarily enhanced, by Frank Baldwin.) The big problem is that Neeson drops out of the story for long stretches, and the movie needs him: None of the drug-biz guys, not even the classy, serene White Bull, can match his craggy charisma. When he's absent, the landscape is very cold indeed. —S.Z.



MOVIES

## A drug-trade dynasty where women rule

In most dramas about the drug trade, women hover quietly in the background. Rarely are they central characters, even if they have everything to gain or lose as a result of the ruthlessness of the men around them.

Cristina Gallego and Ciro Guerra's spellbinding *Birds of Passage*, set in an indigenous Wayuu community in the early days of the Colombian drug trade and based on real events, opens with a courtship ritual: Zaida (Natalia Reyes), young, vibrant and desirable, chooses from potential suitors in a swooping, wheeling ceremonial dance that's half graceful, half predatory—wrapped in a red veil that takes wind like a sail, she's as captivating and elusive as a rare bird. Rapayet (José Acosta), the brash bachelor who hopes to win her hand, doubts he can raise enough money for the exorbitant dowry demanded by her glowering mother Ursula (Carmina Martínez), also the tribe's leader. He pulls it off by selling marijuana to American Peace Corps volunteers stationed in the area, and under Ursula's watchful eye, a drug-running dynasty is born.

The visual splendor of *Birds of Passage* may surpass even that of this filmmaking duo's previous picture, the superb 2015 *Embrace of the Serpent*. This film, too, builds to a mournful end: even in a small, cloistered community where women call the shots, they still have the most to lose. —S.Z.



Just a man and his plow: Neeson walks the talk in *Cold Pursuit*



## TELEVISION

### Comedies find surprising new life in the afterlife

By Judy Berman

IN THE BEGINNING, GOD CREATED Heaven Inc. and the earth. And the earth was a hot new innovation overseen by the angels at God's celestial startup—a goofy blue planet where each human creature was endowed with free will. Several eons later, all that choice had yielded overpopulation, climate change and lots of senseless violence. God—by now an exasperated, disengaged CEO holed up in his office in a bathrobe—started making plans to destroy his flawed creation and conjure something better. A restaurant at the center of a lazy river, perhaps.

This speculative history of the universe comes courtesy of the punchy new TBS comedy *Miracle Workers*, which premieres on Feb. 12. In a divine casting choice (that came about only after Owen Wilson left the role), Steve Buscemi plays a coarse, spoiled Supreme Being. The only souls standing between him and the apocalypse are nerdy Craig (Daniel Radcliffe, in Hufflepuff mode) and his brash new co-worker Eliza (*Blockers* standout Geraldine Viswanathan), angels who run the neglected Department of Answered Prayers. Left to his own devices, Craig helps humans find lost keys; bigger asks get stamped IMPOSSIBLE and sent upstairs to God, who ignores them. Eliza's crusade to make the deity do his job backfires, leaving her and Craig with two weeks to save the earth—by getting two awkward, mutually infatuated mortals to kiss.

It's a high-concept sitcom, but one whose afterlife setting has become weirdly popular among TV's most ambitious comedies. NBC's *The Good Place*, Amazon's *Forever* and Netflix's *Russian Doll* all follow flawed characters on odysseys through the firmament, as they reckon with mistakes they made in life. Beyond the jokes, cosmic and otherwise, these series pose elemental questions about human existence: How do we live good lives? How can we



Eliza (Viswanathan), Craig (Radcliffe) and a colleague (Karan Soni) tremble before God

move on from formative trauma? What do we owe to others, whether they're strangers or spouses?

**MIRACLE WORKERS IS LIGHTER,** sillier and often raunchier than its predecessors. It doesn't have the same blunt emotional force as the marriage at the center of *Forever* or the history that haunts Natasha Lyonne's *Russian Doll* heroine. There are no ethics lessons like the ones philosophy professor Chidi teaches his buddies in *The Good Place*, but there is a hilarious episode where God goes home to his more successful family. Creator Simon Rich (*Man Seeking Woman*), who wrote the novel *Miracle Workers* is based on, even devotes a side plot to God's efforts to destroy atheist gadfly Bill Maher's (literal) manhood.

You're not likely to come out of any episode reconsidering the meaning of life, in other words. But underlying Rich's farce is a sharp—and bleak—analogy for the state of the world: Heaven Inc. is failing because it can't make 7.5 billion individuals happy when their fates are so tightly entwined that one person's godsend is sure to be another's curse. (This calls to mind a recent

*Good Place* wrinkle, the revelation that the moral complexity of modern life has made it impossible for even the best humans to make heaven-worthy choices.) As time passes, misery proliferates.

Yet *Miracle Workers* is ultimately a love letter to free will. In fact, though they can certainly get dark, each of the afterlife comedies functions as a reminder of our best selves, if not a full-throated defense of the human race. Abstracted from real religious doctrine, these parables suggest that we make virtuous decisions when given the experience, knowledge and means to do so—or, at least, that those of us who do will eventually be rewarded.

You can see why this fantasy resonates in 2019: when goodness and earthly success can seem antithetical to each other—when neo-Nazis get a foothold in mainstream politics, when credible sexual-assault charges can't keep a man from ascending to the top of the entertainment industry or even the government—it's comforting to imagine divine justice. These shows aren't necessarily pure escapism, though. At their best, each one is a challenge to live as though some heavenly arbiter is watching.





Keel-billed Toucan; Visit Costa Rica on a fully guided tour with Caravan. Tranquil land of democracy, friendly people, and rare natural beauty. Call now for choice dates: 1-800-CARAVAN, visit Caravan.com.

## **\$1295** Costa Rica Natural Paradise 9-Day Tour

### Volcanoes, Rainforests, and Beaches

**Caravan makes it so easy - and so affordable** - for you and your family to visit Costa Rica.

**Caravan is the #1 in value.**

Your Costa Rica tour features all hotels, all meals, complete sightseeing, and all activities included. Tax and fees extra. A professional Tour Director guides you from start to finish.

**Join the smart shoppers and experienced travelers.**

Caravan handles all the details while you and your family enjoy a well-earned, worry-free vacation—**Happy Travels!** Call now for choice dates.

**“All hotels were excellent!**

*There is no way I would've stayed in such superior and sophisticated hotels for the price I paid”*

—Client, Salinas, California

**“We found the people of Costa Rica very gracious and friendly. Very impressed with Caravan”**

—Client, Pottstown, Pennsylvania

**“The best vacation I had.**

*The only way to see Costa Rica”*

—Client, Plano, Texas

**“Brilliant, affordable pricing”**

—Arthur Frommer, Travel Editor

**Choose a Fully Guided Tour**

10 days Guatemala with Tikal

**9 days Costa Rica**

8 days Panama and Canal Cruise

10 days Nova Scotia,  
Prince Edward Island

9 days Canadian Rockies, Glacier

9 days California Coast, Yosemite

8 days Grand Canyon, Bryce, Zion

8 days Yellowstone, Grand Tetons,  
Mount Rushmore

8 days New England Fall Foliage

**FREE Tour Catalog**

**1-800-CARAVAN**  
**Caravan.com**



# caravan

The #1 In Value—Fully Guided Tours Since 1952



## TELEVISION

### Finding humor in humiliation

FEMALE ADOLESCENCE CAN be a harrowing introduction to the constant, gendered indignities of female adulthood, as pop culture is always reminding us. But that doesn't preclude girls' growing pains from being just as funny and gross as the ones depicted in male coming-of-age stories. This simple truth fuels Maya Erskine and Anna Konkle's *PEN15*, a raw, sweet comedy set amid the pubescent hell-scape of seventh grade. The 10-episode first season comes to Hulu on Feb. 8.

The twist is that Erskine and Konkle star as versions of themselves at 13, in 2000, while their peers are played by actual kids. It works, too, allowing the show to be frank about the girls' changing bodies and sexual awakenings without getting creepy. Erskine, a natural at physical comedy, is fearless in these scenes. And though some episodes read as millennial nostalgia trips or rehashes of teen tropes, standouts that challenge the best friends' relationship ("Ojichan," "Community Service") suggest that this sharp duo has much more to offer. —J.B.



## BOOKS

### From Burkina Faso with love

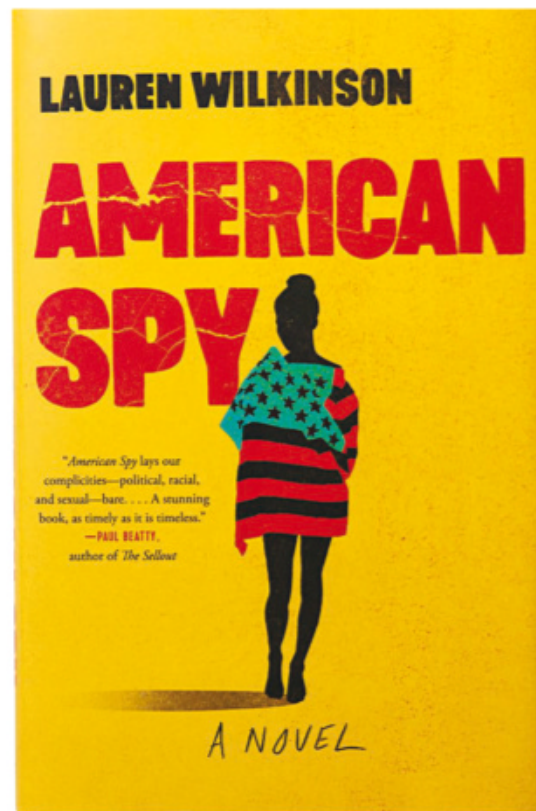
By Nicholas Mancusi

A GOOD SPY MUST BE COMFORTABLE leading two lives at once. Marie Mitchell, the young FBI intelligence officer at the heart of Lauren Wilkinson's thrilling debut novel *American Spy*, is forced to lead many more than that. As a black woman in America, she is aware that the truth of who she is often differs greatly from the assumptions people make about her—and in the boys' club of law enforcement, she knows she already has two strikes against her. When Marie is sent on an undercover Cold War mission to help subvert the charismatic revolutionary Thomas Sankara's presidency in Burkina Faso so the country won't fall further under Soviet influence, she is forced to don yet another persona—one that will test where her true allegiances lie.

The novel—touted on multiple must-read lists for 2019—is structured as a long letter, from Marie to her sons, which she begins in 1992, after she is forced to kill an intruder who attacks her in their home in the middle of the night. "While I can't explain why death is irreversible, I can explain why your father died," Marie writes, addressing the mystery of their parentage. "I'm writing it all down here just in case I'm not around to tell you." From there, Wilkinson flashes back to tell the story of how Marie reached this tipping point.

The author, who earned an MFA in fiction and literary translation from Columbia University, hits her stride in the final sections of the book, which take place in the vibrant new landscapes of Burkina Faso and Ghana. The care with which she establishes Marie's family background and personal motivations pays off in a culmination that includes assassinations, motorcycle chases, gunfire and dramatic reveals worthy of a James Bond caper.

Wilkinson weaves timely issues into a heart-thumping narrative: Marie struggles under the same bitter irony that Americans of color who choose to serve, like her father, have had to endure since Crispus Attucks became the first casualty of the American



Wilkinson's debut novel is already drawing comparisons to John le Carré

Revolution; namely that the ideals for which they sacrifice are rarely reflected in their own lives. "Pop had . . . flown to the other side of the planet to fight for our country and come back to his base in Biloxi, where they'd made him sit at the back of the city bus in his uniform," Marie laments. "How much more dangerous that place was for him once he was fully aware of its pettiness."

In Wilkinson's narrative, we see how Marie herself, much like what was originally called the "third world" because it fell outside of American or Soviet umbrellas, is a proxy battleground for competing ideologies: communism vs. capitalism, patriotism vs. social consciousness, duty vs. love. And in each case, only one can win.

For the novel's engaging intelligence and serious reckoning with the world's postwar order, Wilkinson deserves the comparisons to John le Carré she's already receiving. But in bringing a virtually unheard-from fictional viewpoint to espionage literature, she has reinvigorated the genre.





✓Yes



✓Yes



✓Yes



✓Yes



✓Yes



xNo



✓Yes



✓Yes



✓Yes

- ✓ Reliably Low Prices
- ✓ Easy To Use Website
- ✓ Huge Selection
- ✓ Fast Shipping

[www.rockauto.com](http://www.rockauto.com)

**RA**  
**ROCKAUTO.COM**  
ALL THE PARTS YOUR CAR WILL EVER NEED.



## Want to prevent deadly diseases? Eat fiber

By Alice Park

IF YOU WANT TO EAT SOMETHING for better health, make it fiber. A new review of 243 studies on fiber, published in January in the *Lancet*, shows just how beneficial a diet rich in fiber can be. People who ate more of the nutrient substantially lowered their risk for at least four major diseases, some of which have little to do with the gut.

Compared with people who ate less fiber, those who ate more cut their risk of heart disease, stroke, Type 2 diabetes and colon cancer—as well as their risk of dying early from any cause—by 15% to 30%. The strongest reductions in disease risk were among people who ate 25 g to 29 g each day in fruits, vegetables and whole grains. The more fiber people ate, the more their risks dropped.

“Our research indicates that we should consider the quality of the carbohydrates we eat, with high fiber and whole-grain intakes reducing a broad range of prevalent diseases and reducing premature mortality,” says Andrew Reynolds, lead author of the analysis and a researcher at the University of Otago in New Zealand.

**BUT MOST AMERICANS** are missing out on these perks. Though the Dietary Guidelines for Americans recommend that women eat 25 g of fiber a day and men eat 38 g a day, the average American consumes only about 15 g of fiber a day, according to federal health data.

The nutrient has far-reaching benefits in the human body for many reasons. Fiber-rich foods



tend to be bulky and take longer to chew, which helps people feel full sooner and may lower their risk of obesity, a condition linked to heart disease and cancer. Fiber also nurtures beneficial bacteria in the gut, reducing the risk of colon cancer. And eating fibrous foods helps to slow the absorption of sugar found in those foods, which means a person's sugar levels won't spike as quickly. Surges in blood sugar make it harder for the body to break down sugar with insulin, and consistently high blood sugar can contribute to diabetes.

Getting more fiber in your diet doesn't mean you have to eat tasteless, unappealing foods. Base your meals and snacks around whole grains (swap out refined-flour

breads for whole-grain versions, for example), vegetables, beans, legumes and whole fruits, Reynolds says. Raspberries, pears and apples are particularly rich in fiber, as are artichokes, green peas and broccoli. While it's possible to take supplements and powders, getting fiber from whole-food sources is best, since these come packed with other nutrients. Fruits and vegetables, for example, also shuttle in cancer-fighting antioxidants, inflammation-taming compounds and vitamins that can improve the immune system and build healthy cells and tissues. Together with the other components of naturally healthy foods, fiber can be a powerful way to help prevent disease. □

### NUTRITION

## The dangers of fried food

It's no secret that fried food isn't good for you, but a recent study published in the *BMJ* links it to a serious outcome: early death. The researchers looked at data from more than 100,000 women in the U.S., ages 50 to 79, who had filled out a detailed diet questionnaire in the 1990s and were tracked for about 20 years. Those who said they ate at least one serving of fried food per day had about an 8% higher chance of dying early compared with women who didn't eat any. Fried meats—from land and sea—were linked to the worst outcomes, according to the research.

### FRIED CHICKEN

Of the foods studied, fried chicken was linked to the highest increase in risk of early death. Women who ate at least one serving per week had a 13% higher chance of dying early compared with women who didn't eat fried chicken, and a 12% greater risk of dying specifically from cardiovascular disease. That may be partly because fried chicken is often eaten in restaurants, where it's loaded with sodium and deep-fried in unhealthy oils that are potentially reused. Each time frying oils are recycled, the risk that harmful by-products will transfer to the food increases.



### FRIED FISH

People who ate a weekly helping of fried fish or shellfish—like crispy fish sandwiches or fried shrimp—had a 7% higher risk of early death compared with people who didn't eat those foods. They also had a 13% higher risk of dying from cardiovascular issues compared with people who didn't eat it.

—Jamie Ducharme





# SAVE LIVES NOW

## JOIN THE BATTLE AGAINST CANCER TODAY

MARVEL STUDIOS' AVENGERS: INFINITY WAR IS TEAMING UP WITH STAND UP TO CANCER AND AMERICAN AIRLINES TO FACE THEIR MOST POWERFUL ENEMY YET. YOU TOO CAN JOIN THE FIGHT BY FUNDING CANCER RESEARCH THAT HELPS SAVE LIVES NOW.

VISIT [STANDUPTOCANCER.ORG](https://standuptocancer.org)  
TO JOIN THE BATTLE AGAINST CANCER AND TO LEARN MORE.

PICTURED: MEMBERS OF MARVEL STUDIOS' AVENGERS ALONG WITH CANCER FIGHTERS DR. PHIL SHARP AND AMERICAN AIRLINES TEAM MEMBER, SHANDRA FITZPATRICK.



STAND UP TO CANCER IS A DIVISION OF THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY FOUNDATION, A 501(C)(3) CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION. AMERICAN AIRLINES AND THE FLIGHT SYMBOL LOGO ARE MARKS OF AMERICAN AIRLINES, INC. © 2018 AMERICAN AIRLINES, INC. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. AVENGERS: INFINITY WAR AVAILABLE NOW ON DIGITAL AND BLU-RAY.



# 8 Questions

**Angie Thomas** The best-selling author of *The Hate U Give* on growing up in Mississippi and *On the Come Up*, her new YA novel about a teen rapper

**What made you fall in love with hip-hop?** Sometimes I say my biggest literary influences are rappers, which catches people off guard. When I didn't see myself in books, I saw myself in hip-hop. When I was young, the two big series were *Twilight* and *The Hunger Games*. I had nothing against them, but I couldn't connect. Rappers would tell me stories about kids like me.

**Who were your icons?** One of my biggest influences is TLC. They used their voices in such a powerful way. I will never forget back in '96 at the Grammys when they called out [unfair contracts] for making them broke. That was incredible for me to see as a kid in Jackson. I got to talk to Left Eye when I was a teenager. She helped save my life.

**How?** I was bullied. One day I locked myself in the bathroom with every intention of taking my own life. I had my Walkman, and "Waterfalls" came on. She has a line: "Dreams are hopeless aspirations, in hopes of coming true/ Believe in yourself, the rest is up to me and you." I thought, I have hopes and dreams, but I can't see them happen if I take my life. So I decided not to. I told my mom, who found the phone number for a studio. I was watching TV and my mom says, "Someone wants to talk to you." She said, "This is Left Eye." I screamed and dropped the phone. She took the time to listen and said, "I've never met you, but I've got a feeling you can do something great one day, and you can't do it if you take your life."

**You had a teen rap career. What was that like?** It was a way to express myself, but it was also, I thought, one of the only ways someone like me could make it. I didn't see doctors and lawyers from my neighborhood who were successful. But the local rappers were doing well.

“THE TEENS I  
WRITE FOR NOW  
ARE GOING TO  
BE POLITICIANS  
WITH TWITTER  
ACCOUNTS  
TOMORROW”



I remember begging my cousin to lend me money so I could go to a studio.

**How did your upbringing inform your worldview?** Mississippi is known for two things, racism and writing, and I happen to be a writer who wrote about racism. But my mom was very community-oriented. So even with poverty and violence and drugs in the neighborhood, I recognized that there was power within me to not only make myself heard, but also to change the way kids like me were seen.

**Is *On the Come Up* more autobiographical than *The Hate U Give*?** It is. There's always that fear of, Am I giving too much of my life story away? But when it feels vulnerable, I remind myself there's some kid out there who's going to pick this up and feel less alone.

***The Hate U Give*, which was made into a movie, was celebrated but also met with some resistance. Why do you think that is?** It's been challenged in school districts—usually by people who haven't read the book. When people don't take the time, it's because they're afraid of what their minds could open up to. But we've had police officers that sponsored movie viewings to improve relations. I met a 90-year-old white lady who passes copies out to kids. I wrote it with black kids in mind, but that does not mean other people can't connect with it.

**Why do you write for teens?** The teens I write for now are going to be politicians with Twitter accounts tomorrow. If some of our leaders read books about black kids as teenagers, we wouldn't have to say Black Lives Matter—it would be understood. If they read about Latino kids, we wouldn't be discussing walls. People assume I want to put a political agenda into kids' heads. No. I want to instill empathy in them. —LUCY FELDMAN





# You know **the feeling** when you actually wake up early to go to the gym?

Rolling over your old 401k can bring you that same sense of satisfaction—without the alarm clock. Our team of rollover specialists will walk you through the process step by step, and even call your old provider. We do the heavy lifting so you can focus on feeling accomplished.

Get up to \$600 when you roll over your old 401k into an IRA.



Visit [tdameritrade.com/rollover](https://tdameritrade.com/rollover) to get started today.

A rollover is not your only alternative when dealing with old retirement plans. Please visit [tdameritrade.com/rollover](https://tdameritrade.com/rollover) for more information on rollover alternatives. See [tdameritrade.com/600offer](https://tdameritrade.com/600offer) for offer details and restrictions/conditions. This is not an offer or solicitation in any jurisdiction where we are not authorized to do business. TD Ameritrade, Inc., member FINRA/SIPC. © 2019 TD Ameritrade.



Now, you can search "jobs for veterans"  
and enter your MOS code to find  
civilian jobs that match your skills.



Google

jobs for veterans |



Google Search

I'm Feeling Lucky

For free job training resources, visit  
[google.com/grow/veterans](https://google.com/grow/veterans)

Grow with Google